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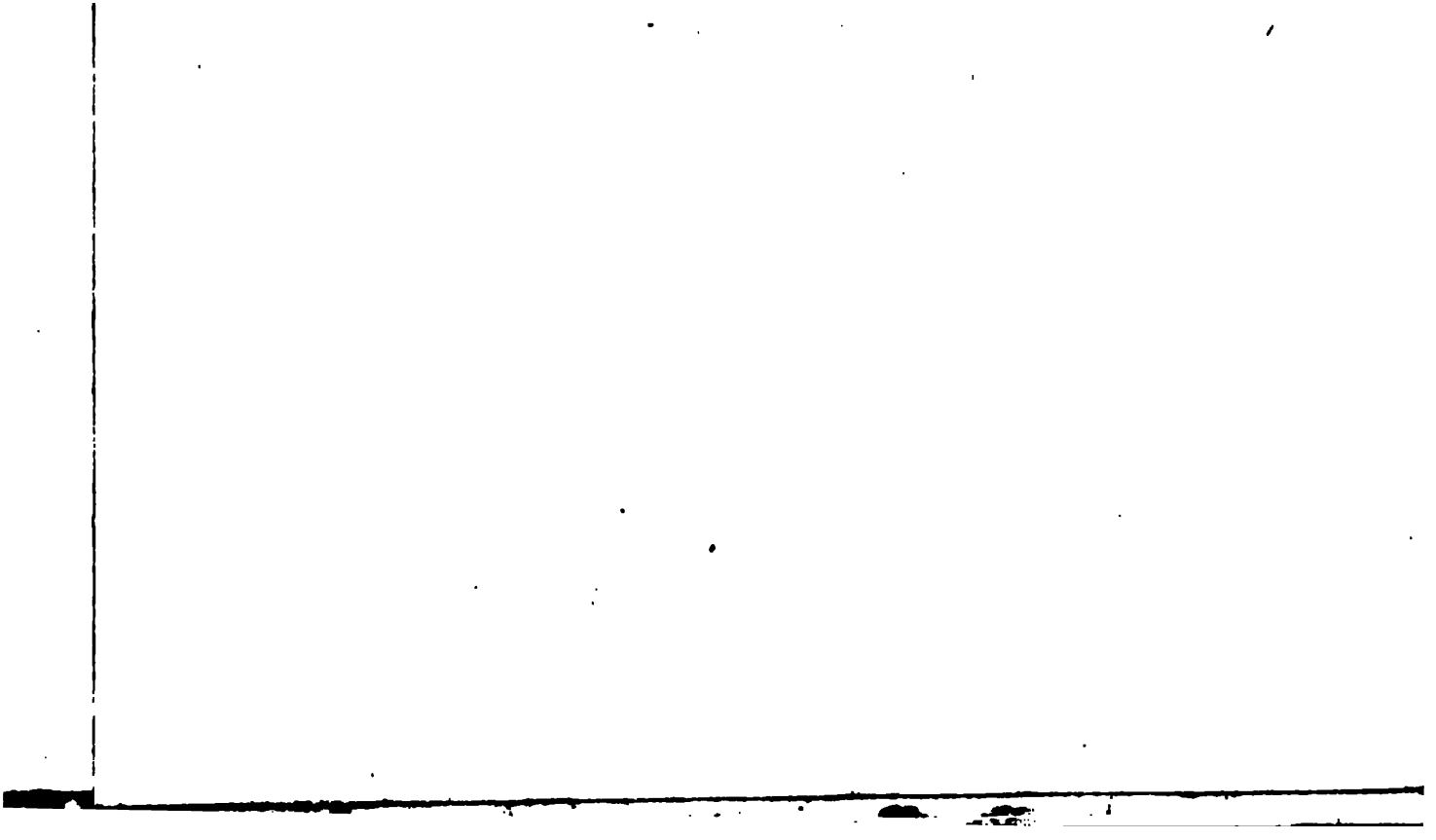

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

THE

COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS,

AND

UPPER CANADA,

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797;

BY THE

DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT
LIANCOURT.

WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF LOWER CANADA.

THREE MAPS, SEVERAL TABLES, &c.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, CANADA, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.

RESIDENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PHILADELPHIA.

AS I am now on the eve of my departure from Philadelphia, and as it is not probable that I ſhall be here again before my departure for Europe, I ſhall ſet down whatever information I have been able to collect, reſpecting the city of Philadelphia and the ſtate of Pennſylvania, in the ſeveral viſits I have paid to this part of the United States.

ORIGIN OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This colony was founded 1681, by the celebrated WILLIAM PENN, from whom it derives its name; and to the genius with which that great man conceived the plan of its government, and the wiſdom and juſtice of his adminiſtration,

is to be aſcribed the rapid progreſs it made to a happy and flouriſhing condition.

The Engliſh government had given Admiral PENN reaſon to expect the ceſſion of this country to him, in payment of a conſiderable ſum due to him from the public. The Admiral died before any thing was done in the affair; and the petition preſented by William Penn, after his death, to claim the execution of the promiſe, was long oppoſed by the agents of Lord BALTIMORE, proprietor of Maryland. It was not till towards the concluſion of the year 1681, that Charles the Second ſigned William Penn's charter.

At this time ſeveral ſpots on the banks of the Delaware were inhabited. They were at firſt part of the province of New York occupied by Dutch ſettlers, and afterwards were in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes; till, in 1664, they were finally united to the crown of England.

The motives mentioned in the preamble of the patent granted to William Penn are, the ſervices of Admiral Penn, and the laudable intentions of his ſon to add to the grandeur of the Britiſh empire, by cultivating ſuch branches of commerce in the territories ceded to him as would enrich Great Britain, and by civiliſing the ſavage nations of the country.

The

The limits of the lands ceded by Charles Second to William Penn, were, on the eaſt, the Delaware, from a ſpot twelve miles to the north of Newcaſtle, to the fortieth degree of latitude, *in caſe*, the words of the patent are, *the river ſhall extend thus far to the north*; from this point a ſtraight line drawn to the weſt, at right angles with the Delaware; and from that point, another line drawn to the ſouth; and finally, a line drawn parallel to that of the north, and making the boundary on the ſouth.

The patent gave William Penn, and his heirs, the entire property of the province, ſubject to the ſupreme authority of the crown of England; it ceded alſo the power of making laws, eſtabliſhing a government, granting lands, and raiſing taxes.

The commerce of the new province was to be ſubject to the regulations of the Britiſh legiſlature, and was to be carried on only with England. William Penn was obliged to appoint an agent in London, to anſwer to the crown for any violations of the laws regulating Britiſh commerce; but it was provided, that in all diſputes between William Penn, or his heirs, or the merchants of the colony, and the crown, the conſtruction of the laws ſhould be favourable to the

former, and the King's miniſters were enjoined to give them all poſſible aid and protection.

William Penn arrived at the banks of the Delaware in 1682, having with him a great many families of the people called Quakers. As he did not ſuppoſe, with the greater part of the founders of European colonies, that the place of his birth and the grant of his king were authorities for taking poſſeſſion of the territories of ſavage people, without their conſent, he treated with the natives for the lands with ſuch equity, that he not only concluded his negociations without obſtacles, and acquired the friendſhip and confidence of the Indians, but alſo conciliated the minds of the Dutch and Swedes already eſtabliſhed in the country. The conduct of the Quakers, who accompanied Penn, was of the ſame equitable character; ſo that the new ſettlers, far from being diſturbed by the Indians, received every aid thoſe poor people could give them. And ſo deeply rooted was the veneration of the Indian tribes for William Penn, that to this day, when thoſe unhappy victims of European policy are daily driven from their habitations farther back into the wilds of the country, and have too often to complain of other acts of injuſtice, they are accuſtomed to quote the tradition

tradition handed down to them of William Penn's humane and equitable conduct. Nor do they ever place an entire confidence in any treaties with Pennſylvania, or any other ſtate, or even the Union, unleſs ſome Quakers are preſent at the conference;—"The deſcendants of William Penn," they ſay, "will never permit us to be deceived."

In 1683, William Penn began to lay the foundations of Philadelphia, at which time he formed a plan for the building of that city, which has ſince been followed with great exactneſs.

The country lying along the Delaware to the ſouth of Newcaſtle, was a little time afterwards granted by the crown to Willian Penn; and the county of Newcaſtle was ceded to him by the Duke of York.

The inhabitants of this new colony amounted, in 1684, to no more than four thouſand. In 1685, ninety veſſels arriving from Europe, with emigrants from France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, Scotland, Ireland, and England, the population was encreaſed to ſixty-ſix thouſand, of which nearly the half were Engliſh.

The wiſdom of the adminiſtration, but ſtill more entire liberty in civil and religious matters, brought a great influx of inhabitants, even

from other parts of America, to Philadelphia; and the city was ſtill farther increaſed in growth, by conditional grants of ground, and other political aids given to adventurers.

In 1682, William Penn aſſembled the inhabitants of this new colony at Cheſter; with the concurrence of whom he framed a conſtitution, that veſted the legiſlation of the ſtate in the governor, aſſiſted with a provincial council and a general aſſembly. The council was compoſed of ſeventy members, choſen by the people. The governor or his deputy preſided in the council, and had three voices. A third of the council was re-elected annually. The general aſſembly was at firſt compoſed of all the inhabitants, but was ſoon reduced to two hundred, and it was provided that it ſhould never exceed five hundred.

In the diſcourſe pronounced by William Penn on this occaſion, he laid down a maxim, whoſe truth ought to be inceſſantly in the contemplation of every free people;—"Whatever," he ſaid, "be the form of a government, the people always are free when they ſhare in the legiſlative power, and are governed only by the laws. In theſe two circumſtances is the ſecurity of all freedom; without them, there can be nothing but deſpotiſm or anarchy. The legitimate objects of govern-

government are, the people's reſpect for the laws, and their ſecurity againſt the abuſe of power. On theſe principles it is, that the people are free, even in obedience, and the magiſtrates honoured and reſpectable, for the impartiality of their adminiſtration and their own ſubmiſſion to the laws."

In 1683, William Penn offered a new conſtitution to the inhabitants of Pennſylvania, of which they accepted. The number of repreſentatives was now diminiſhed; and the prerogative of putting a negative upon laws paſſed by the aſſembly, given to the governor.

Some diſputes between Lord Baltimore and William Penn, concerning their reſpective property, obliged the latter to go to England. In his abſence, the adminiſtration of the government was committed to a council, who abuſed their power, and excited diſcontents, that Penn, while he remained in Europe, could neither prevent nor allay. The crown therefore reſumed the government of the province, which was committed to the care of the governor of New York.

About this period a new conſtitution was eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania, differing from the former chiefly in this—that the general aſſembly were now annually elected.

In 1699, William Penn arrived from England, and again took the reins of government; and it was in 1701, when he was about to embark once more for England, that the conſtitution of this province was eſtabliſhed on the footing on which it reſted till the revolution of America.

The three counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, (which at that time were known by the name of the *three lower counties*), refuſing to accept this new conſtitution, William Penn granted his right in them to EDMUND SHIPPEN, and five others, and theſe counties were erected into a ſeparate government. They had an aſſembly diſtinct from that of Pennſylvania, in which, however, the governor of Pennſylvania preſided: and theſe three counties at preſent form the State of Delaware.

William Penn purchaſed from the Indians, by ſucceſſive treaties, the country as far as the Suſquehanna, and even beyond, and all that tract of land extending from Duck Creek to the mountains. He died in 1718, eſteemed, beloved, and regretted, by every one who had occaſion at any time to have dealings with him. After his death his heirs, the proprietors and governors of the province, endeavoured to extend their power, and ſoon began to claim exemptions from taxes for the

the lands the family of Penn had reſerved for itſelf. The houſe of repreſentatives oppoſed theſe pretenſions with unremitting ſteadineſs; and the hiſtory of Pennſylvania, from that period to the late revolution in America, is nothing more than a record of diſputes between the governors and the houſe of repreſentatives. Every queſtion that came before the aſſembly was the occaſion of a diſpute; and the mutual jealouſy of theſe authorities prevented the eſtabliſhment of neceſſary regulations, which the repreſentatives of the people had not leiſure to propoſe, or were unwilling to ſubject to the governor's negative.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

At the time of the revolution in America, the conſtitution of Pennſylvania was changed. The proprietors were then abſent; and the people, by their repreſentatives, eſtabliſhed a conſtitution, in the following manner.

The legiſlative authority was delegated to a houſe of repreſentatives, choſen annually by the ſeveral counties. To become an elector, it was neceſſary to be an inhabitant, a deſcendant of Europeans, and free—to have arrived at the age of twenty-one, and to have reſided a year in Pennſylvania.

The

The number of the repreſentatives was to be proportioned to the population of each county; the only qualification to be a candidate for repreſentative was, a reſidence for the two laſt years in the ſame county, but no repreſentative was eligible to be re-elected till after an interval of four years. Every repreſentative, before he took his ſeat, was obliged to read and ſign the following declaration—*That he believed in one God, who created the univerſe, and governs it by his providence, and who rewards the good and puniſhes the wicked; and that he acknowledged the Old and New Teſtaments to have been written by divine inſpiration.*

The houſe of repreſentatives had the power of making laws conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution. All acts were to be paſſed by a majority of at leaſt two-thirds of the members preſent, and laws were not to be in force till the expiration of one year from the time of their paſſing. During that interval they were to be publiſhed in the gazettes, that the people might have opportunity to know their nature, and that the public opinion might be made known reſpecting neceſſary amendments.

The number of repreſentatives in 1789 were ſeventy-two.

The executive power was placed in the ſupreme

preme council of Pennſylvania, compoſed of a preſident, vice-preſident, and fifteen members choſen by the people, one in each county. This council was choſen for three years, and a third was renewed annually by an election. The preſident and vice-preſident were annually choſen, by an aſſembly compoſed of the houſe of repreſentatives and the ſupreme council; but they were choſen among the members of the ſupreme council.

Another council compleated the political body of this ſtate; it was called the *council of cenſors*, and was compoſed of two members from each county, choſen annually by the people. The members could not be re-elected till after an interval of ſeven years. Their functions were, to guard the rights of the conſtitution; to enquire into uſurpations of the legiſlature, or the ſupreme council; to enquire whether the taxes were equitably impoſed, faithfully levied, and expended with economy; in a word, to ſee the laws juſtly adminiſtered. They had the power to ſummon any individual before them; to ſuſpend the deliberations of the legiſlature; to examine its acts, and to recommend the annulling of ſuch as appeared to them inconſiſtent with the conſtitution. They had, beſide, the power

of

of calling a convention to change the conſtitution, to which they had authority to propoſe ſuch reforms as they ſhould deem neceſſary. In the caſe of their calling a convention, they were enjoined to give notice of it in the gazettes, during ſix months previous to its meeting.

As democratic as this conſtitution was, there were many who ſtill wiſhed for further innovation; and while it was in exiſtence, the State of Pennſylvania was divided by two factions, one of which was called the *conſtitutionaliſts*, and the other *republicans*. The latter demanded two houſes, on the plan of the majority of the United States. The conteſt for power was eager; and the public intereſt, as is too often the caſe, was ſacrificed to the intereſts of parties. Finally the republicans prevailed; and in 1790, the conſtitution at preſent in force was framed by a convention.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The conſtitution of Pennſylvania, like thoſe of all the other United States, ſeparates the executive from the legiſlative power.

The legiſlature is compoſed of a houſe of repreſentatives and a ſenate.

The members of the houſe of repreſentatives are

are choſen in each county by the electors, with the exception of thoſe who are returned by the citizens of Philadelphia.

The number of repreſentatives for a county is in proportion to the population, but each county returns at leaſt one. To keep the number in each county correſpondent with the population, an account of the inhabitants is taken every ſeven years, according to which the legiſlature declares the number that each county ſhall return.

The number of repreſentatives is never to exceed a hundred. The houſe of repreſentatives is elected annually. The qualifications for members are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenſhip acquired three years previous to the election; and a previous reſidence of three years in the county.

The ſenate is elected for four years; but a fourth of the ſenators is renovated annually.

The ſenators are elected by diſtricts, formed by ſeveral counties, according to their population; but no diſtrict is permitted to return more than four ſenators.

The number of the ſenators is never to be leſs than the fourth part of the houſe of repreſentatives, nor ever exceed the third.

The qualifications for a ſenator are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenſhip;

citizenſhip; reſidence for four years in the ſtate; and a reſidence of the year preceding the election in the diſtrict.

The governor is elected for three years, and is not eligible to continue in office more than nine years in twelve. The qualifications for the candidate for the office of governor, are—the arrival at the age of thirty; and the right of citizenſhip of ſeven years ſtanding, and ſeven years reſidence in the ſtate.

The qualification of reſidence in the ſtate is not neceſſary to a candidate for the office of governor, or member of either of the houſes of legiſlature, when he has been abſent on the ſervice of the Union or the State.

The ſame electors chuſe the governor and the two houſes of the legiſlature. The qualifications of an elector are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; two years reſidence in the ſtate previous to the election; and the payment of taxes for the laſt ſix months. The ſons of inhabitants paying taxes are exempt from the laſt qualification.

Laws for the impoſition of taxes muſt originate in the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate may make amendments in them.

The treaſurer of the ſtate is annually appointed by the legiſlature.

All

All other places under the government, civil and military, are filled by the governor; who appoints alſo the ſheriffs and coroner in each county, from two candidates preſented to him by the electors.

The governor has the prerogative of granting pardon to convicts, or of mitigating their ſentence.

The acts of the legiſlature muſt receive his ſignature, to have the force of a law, which ſignature is to be affixed to the act within ten days of its being preſented to him; except in the caſe of his refuſing his aſſent, when his refuſal is to be accompanied with a declaration of his motives. The motives of refuſal are to be taken into conſideration by the two houſes; and if two-thirds of each perſiſt in paſſing the act, the governor is to place his ſignature to it, notwithſtanding his objections. It thenceforth becomes law, and he is to provide for its execution.

The judicature is divided into five tribunals; 1. the Supreme Court, compoſed of a chief-juſtice and four other judges. This court holds its ſittings at Philadelphia, in January, April, and September; in the firſt of which months, the ſittings laſt for three weeks, and in the two others for fifteen days.

2. The Courts of Oyer and Terminer, company

poſed of one of the judges of the ſupreme court, and judges of the diſtrict, the county being divided into five diſtricts for the purpoſes of this juriſdiction. The judges make the circuit of the diſtrict, and take cognizance of both civil and criminal cauſes.

3. The Court of Common Pleas, compoſed of a preſident who is one of the judges of the diſtrict, and juſtices of the peace in the county. This court is held in the county, and takes cognizance only of civil cauſes.

4. The Court of Quarter Seſſions, compoſed only of juſtices of the peace, and held every three months in the county.

5. The Court of Errors and Appeal, compoſed of a preſident who has no other function, and the judges, who are preſidents of the ſeveral courts of common pleas. This court is held every year at Philadelphia, beginning its ſittings on the firſt of July.

The Supreme Court, and the Courts of Circuit, have the powers of the Court of Chancery veſted in them.

The reſpective judges are appointed by the governor, and cannot be diſplaced but by a ſentence of the ſenate, upon an accuſation from the houſe of repreſentatives; or, where the accuſation is not of a criminal nature, by the gover-

nor,

nor, on the requiſition of two-thirds of each of the two houſes of the legiſlature.

The concluding chapter of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania contains a declaration of rights, eſtabliſhed on the pureſt principles of civil and religious liberty.

No teſt is required from perſons holding public offices, except a declaration to uphold and defend the conſtitution. No profeſſion relative to religion is demanded of them. The declaration is made upon oath, or ſimple affirmation, according to the pleaſure of the perſon making it; and this ſeems a neceſſary proviſion in a ſtate in which Quakers are as numerous as in that of Pennſylvania.

Votes at an election are given in writing; and the judges who preſide, before they receive a vote, are to make an entry of the name and qualification of the voter, that the ſame perſon may not vote twice, or vote without the right of ſuffrage.

The tranquillity of Pennſylvania has been undiſturbed ſince the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution, except in the inſtance of a partial inſurrection in 1794, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

This ſtate is bleſſed with a high degree of proſperity. Population increaſes in an aſtoniſhing

progreſſion. Commerce is more flouriſhing than in any of the other ſtates; and every corner of it is peopling with emigrations from Europe, or from the other ſtates of the Union.

THE LAWS IN GENERAL.

By the grant of Charles Second to William Penn, it was provided, that the laws of England relative to property, and alſo the laws relative to crimes, ſhould be in force in Pennſylvania, till others ſhould be formally ſubſtituted by himſelf, and the freemen of the new province, or their deputies.

In the eſtabliſhment of this colony, the common law of England, and ſeveral of its ſtatute laws, were naturally adopted; but many of theſe not being found in any written code of Pennſylvania, they are to be regarded indiſcriminately as the common law of Pennſylvania.

When the revolution took place, theſe laws ceaſed to be obligatory, by the connection with England being deſtroyed. But they were confirmed in the firſt independent legiſlature by an expreſs law, till they ſhould be repealed by ſucceeding acts of the legiſlature. This wiſe meaſure was neceſſary in the agitation of a revolution, that ſcarcely affords the coolneſs and leiſure required for the formation of a new code of laws,

or even the careful reviſion of an ancient ſyſtem. Many of the laws ſince that period have been repealed, or amended; thoſe which are at preſent in force have been lately collected and publiſhed by Mr. DALLAS, ſecretary of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, a lawyer of great eminence, and who is allowed, even by men of oppoſite ſentiments in politics, to poſſeſs a clear judgment, and a profound knowledge in the laws.

THE CODE OF CIVIL LAWS IN PARTICULAR.

I ſhall ſpeak only of the moſt intereſting of the code of civil laws; and in the firſt place, of that which regulates the property of perſons dying inteſtate. This law, which was paſſed in 1794, revokes all preceding laws on the ſame ſubject, the laſt of which was paſſed in 1764.

By the exiſting law, the widow of a perſon dying inteſtate takes a third of all his perſonal property and an intereſt for life in the real eſtate. The other two-thirds are divided equally among the legitimate children, already born or poſthumous; and after the death of the widow, the third of the real eſtate in which ſhe had a life-intereſt, is equally divided among the children.

When the perſon dying inteſtate leaves no widow, the whole of the property is equally divided among the children.

When a perſon dying inteſtate leaves a widow without children, the widow takes half the perſonal property, and a life-intereſt in half the real eſtate; the remainder is divided among the neareſt relations of the deceaſed; to whom alſo deſcends, at the death of the widow, the half of the real eſtate enjoyed by her during her life.

This law determines the preference to be given to the degrees of relationſhip; and regulates the manner of valuing, ſelling, and dividing the property among the co-heirs.

The aboliſhed law of 1764, had given to the eldeſt of the ſons of the perſon dying inteſtate, a ſhare of the property equal to two of the other children.

The common-law of England is followed in Pennſylvania, in the diſpoſition of the property of a woman dying inteſtate; the whole of the perſonal property belongs to the huſband, and alſo the enjoyment of the real eſtate during his life.

If there are children of the marriage, or their repreſentatives, they divide the property of the mother after the death of the father.

The liberty of diſpoſing of property by will, without leaving any part to children, is entire in Pennſylvania, and is conſidered as a ſecurity for the good behaviour of children. It is very uncommon

common to find a parent making a bad uſe of this liberty; which appears, however, to be greater than a juſt man would deſire. It is not unuſual for a parent to leave his eldeſt ſon a double portion of his property, but public opinion condemns every diſpoſition in which the eldeſt ſon is favoured beyond that proportion.

By a law paſſed in 1786, no divorce can be adjudged but in the following caſes;—1. For inability in the huſband, or incapacity of the wife to bear children.

2. For a preceding marriage of one of the parties, the former wife or huſband being ſtill alive, when the ſecond marriage took place.

3. For adultery, proved by one of the parties.

4. For the voluntary abſence of either of the parties, without reaſonable cauſe, from the houſe of the married parties during four ſucceeding years.

In each of theſe caſes the ſupreme court has the power of pronouncing a ſentence of divorce. The forms of proceeding are preſcribed by the law; and it is provided, that they cannot be reſorted to, by any huſband or wife, except where the parties have reſided one year at leaſt in the ſtate.

When a married perſon, on the report of the death of the huſband or wife, after an abſence of

two years, marries again, ſuch perſon is not to be judged guilty of adultery; but the huſband or wife who has been thus reported dead, may, on his or her return, claim the diſſolution of the marriage made during his or her abſence, and the reſtitution of the wife or huſband, provided the claim is made within a year after the return of ſuch perſon.

A huſband who conſents to his wife's adultery is not intitled to a divorce; and where a divorce is obtained for adultery, the party convicted of the crime is not at liberty to marry with the perſon who was his or her partner in the guilt.

The law grants a ſeparation, when the wife proves that ſhe has been ill-treated by her huſband; and compels the huſband to afford a maintenance to the wife after the ſeparation, not exceeding the third of his revenue; but every ſentence of ſeparation is to be reviſed by the high court of errors and appeals, if either of the parties chuſes to appeal.

By a law paſſed in 1780, the children of ſlaves born after that period are declared free; but they are liable to ſerve the maſters of their parents till the age of twenty-eight. The ſame law ordained the regiſtering, in the public books of certain officers, the names of the ſlaves then reſiding in the ſtate; and ſuch ſlaves as were not ſo regiſtered

were

were declared to be free. It provided that all ſlaves ſhould be tried by the ſame tribunals, and with the ſame forms, as other citizens of the ſtate; but it prohibited the teſtimony of a ſlave againſt a freeman. The proprietors of ſlaves were compelled by this law to provide for their ſubſiſtence, even in the caſe of their not being regiſtered; and the manner was preſcribed for the recovery of a ſlave who had eſcaped from his maſter. It was forbidden to engage any negro or mulatto above the age of twenty-one to be bound for any longer term than ſeven years.

A law that was paſſed in May 1788 explained and amended the law of 1780. Every ſlave brought into the State of Pennſylvania, either by an inhabitant of the ſtate or any perſon coming to reſide there, was declared free as ſoon as he entered on the territories of the ſtate. No perſon could take with him, or ſend away to another ſtate, a ſlave engaged only for a term, without the conſent of the ſlave officially declared before a juſtice of the peace. A fine of one hundred and ſixty dollars is to be paid for every offence againſt this proviſion of the law. The children of ſlaves born after the firſt of March 1780, who were ſubject to ſervitude till the age of twenty-eight, were to be enregiſtered in the

books of the proper officers, in default of which they were declared free.

The trading in negroes was prohibited, under the penalty of the confiſcation of the veſſel employed in or deſtined to that traffic, and a fine of two thouſand two hundred and fifty dollars. Every maſter of a ſlave, whether during his life or for a term of years, was prohibited, under the penalty of one hundred and twelve dollars, to remove huſband and wife, or parents and their children, to the diſtance of more than twelve miles from each other, without their previous conſent. Where violence is uſed by the maſter, or perſecution or falſe pretences to effect the ſeparation contrary to this law, the fine is doubled, and the offender to be impriſoned for ſix or twelve months. The granting liberty to a ſlave, whether he is ſo for life or a term of years, requires no other formality than the ſignature of the maſter declaring him to be free.

The common law of England is ſtill in force in Pennſylvania, relative to the hiring of domeſtics, and the taking of apprentices. Parents may therefore engage their children as apprentices and domeſtics up to the age of twenty-one; and after that age young people may make agreements for themſelves till they are twenty-eight. Proviſions

are

are made by the law merely to prevent abuſes in theſe engagements. Among the reſt are—the declaration before juſtices of the peace of the perſon engaged to be a ſervant or apprentice, that he engages himſelf voluntarily; a prohibition to every maſter to ſend ſervants or apprentices out of the ſtate; and a fine impoſed upon all perſons offending againſt that clauſe, or retaining the perſons ſo engaged beyond the term of the contract.

The law alſo authoriſes the engagement, for a limited period, of perſons arriving from Europe, who cannot otherwiſe diſcharge the debts they have contracted with the maſters of veſſels for their paſſage.

The overſeers of the poor may make engagements for the children of the poor as apprentices, but not for any term exceeding their arrival at the age of twenty-one; and proviſions are made for the proper treatment of ſuch apprentices and domeſtics by their maſters.

It is under the ſanction of the forms of this law that emigrants, arriving here from the French colonies ſince the French Revolution, have been able to retain their ſlaves. Having conducted them before magiſtrates, they engage them till the time when they ſhall attain the age of twenty-one, or twenty-eight; but the conſent of the negroe

negro to this effect is neceſſary, without which they are declared free.

There is no law in Pennſylvania, directly enacted by the legiſlature of the ſtate, relative to bankruptcies; on this ſubject the law of England is followed. That which relates to the inſolvent debtors is encumbered with the inconveniences which ſuch laws ſeldom avoid. It provides that inſolvent perſons, impriſoned for debt, ſhall be diſcharged and freed from further purſuit, on a declaration made by them of the amount of their property and the relinquiſhment of it to their creditors. But if the debtor afterwards acquires other property, he may be again ſued. It will be felt, that the debtor, being once enlarged, may ſecrete his new acquiſitions from his creditor, or that he may be diſhoneſt in his declaration concerning his property; but it will alſo be felt, that it is leſs difficult to raiſe objections to this mild proviſion of the law, than to ſubſtitute one that would protect the honeſt and unfortunate debtor, while it ſecured the creditor from frauds. The decay of morals in Pennſylvania renders a proviſion for this laſt-mentioned object neceſſary; and the legiſlature is engaged in framing a law for that purpoſe.

It was propoſed in the laſt ſeſſion to aboliſh arreſts

arreſts for debt, and to leave to the money-lender and the merchant the taſk of enquiring into the ſolidity of the funds for their repayment. The propoſition was ſupported by a great number of the members; but was oppoſed by a majority, and thrown out.

Chicane will find means to prolong the term of nine months, which is the term conſumed by the regular forms in the recovery of a debt; and it is not unuſual to ſee it thus employed in Pennſylvania.

By a law of Pennſylvania, cognizance is given to juſtices of the peace of all actions for debt not exceeding fifty-three dollars. The object of the legiſlature in this law was, to ſave expence in the moſt frequent actions for debt, and in which the parties were the leaſt capable of defraying it; but an appeal to the ſuperior tribunals is given to the defendant. This law met with much oppoſition before it paſſed, and chiefly from lawyers who imagined it would effect their practice; but experience has ſhewn the wiſdom of the proviſion. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of an appeal from the deciſions of the juſtices of the peace; and the expences of recovering debts before them are twenty times leſs than before the ſuperior tribunals with the aid of advocates.

THE

THE CRIMINAL LAWS.—PRISONS.

It is on the ſubject of criminal laws that philoſophy has had the moſt noble and uſeful influence in Pennſylvania; and in this reſpect the government may juſtly ſerve for a model to the reſt of the world.

I cannot proceed with this ſubject without repeating part of what I have ſaid in another work, publiſhed with this title—*On the Priſons of Philadelphia*; to which I will refer ſuch of my readers as require a more particular detail on this intereſting ſubject.

Since the year 1793, no crime but wilful murder is puniſhed with death. Other crimes are puniſhed with impriſonment, for more or leſs time, and with circumſtances of greater or leſs ſeverity, according to the nature of the offence; the Governor in all caſes having the prerogative to mitigate the puniſhment; for although it has appeared to the wiſe legiſlators of this ſtate, that the certainty with which puniſhment follows crimes will greatly diminiſh them, the hope of obtaining pardon by ſubſequent good conduct has no leſs appeared to them a motive of ſubſtantial reform in criminals. They very properly thought that all puniſhment ſhould have the amendment of the offender for its object, and ought even to furniſh

furniſh him with the means of reform; and this valuable maxim is the baſis of the policy of the priſons in Philadelphia.

The adminiſtrators of the priſons have added this truly wiſe principle; that the impriſonment of a criminal being a reparation to ſociety, it ought as little as poſſible to be a burden on its finances.

They have propoſed, therefore, the following objects in their regulations:

1ſt. That the economy of the priſons ſhould, as much as poſſible, tend to detach the priſoners from their former habits, and lead them to reflections on their condition, and conſequently to amendment.

2d. That all arbitrary proceedings, and cruelty, and injuſtice in the jailors, ſhould be carefully excluded, ſince they diſpoſe the mind of the priſoner to malice and revenge, inſtead of begetting ſentiments of contrition.

3d. That the priſoner ſhould be conſtantly employed in ſome profitable labour, to wean him from habits of idleneſs, to defray the expences of the priſon, and to provide ſome reſource for the time when he returns again to ſociety.

The convicts in the priſons are divided into two claſſes; the firſt are ſuch as are convicted of crimes formerly punished with death; and their ſentence

ſentence always includes *ſolitary confinement* for part of the time of their impriſonment. The quantity of ſolitary confinement is at the diſcretion of the judge, within theſe bounds—that it ſhall not exceed half of the time of the impriſonment, nor be leſs than the twelfth part. The other claſs of convicts are ſuch as are ſentenced for inferior offences; and who are not conſequently condemned to *ſolitary confinement*.

The cells for ſolitary confinement are eight feet by ſix, and nine in height. They are always on the firſt or ſecond floor of the priſon, are vaulted, and detached from the reſt of the building. They are warmed by a ſtove which ſtands in the corridor facing the cells. The convict, ſhut in by two doors of iron and grated, receives the benefit of the fire without being able to convert it to miſchievous purpoſes. The cell is lighted by the doors leading to the corridor, and more immediately by a window. It has a water-cloſet, through which freſh water can be always turned at the pleaſure of the priſoner. No precaution for cleanlineſs or health is forgotten. The cells, as well as every part of the priſon, is white-waſhed twice a year. The priſoner ſleeps on a mattraſs, and is well furniſhed with covering.

Thus delivered over to ſolitude, and the bitterneſs of reflection and remorſe, the convict has no

no communication with human beings; except that once a day the turnkey brings him a coarſe pudding made of Indian wheat.

It is not till after the convict has paſſed ſome time in this ſecluſion from ſociety that he obtains permiſſion to read, or to be furniſhed with ſuch employment as his ſtrict confinement will admit of.

The convict never quits his cell during the term for which he is condemned to ſolitary confinement, not even to walk in the corridor, except in the caſe of ſickneſs.

It is left to the inſpectors of the priſons to ſay in what part of the whole term of the impriſonment the time of the ſolitary confinement ſhall take place; provided the priſoner actually ſuffers the quantity of ſolitary confinement named in the ſentence. It is uſually inflicted when the convict enters the priſon; becauſe the ſevereſt part of the ſentence ought in juſtice, as quickly as poſſible, to follow the crime; becauſe the rigour of this ſecluſion would be unjuſtly increaſed if the priſoner had already enjoyed the common liberty of the priſon; becauſe the ſecluſion from ſociety is deſigned to lead the priſoner to reflection on the crimes whoſe puniſhment falls ſo heavily on him; and, becauſe the ſudden and abſolute change of food affects the temperament

of

of the priſoner and inclines him to the diſpoſition that precedes repentance.

The inſpectors of the priſons place great confidence in the abſtinence they impoſe on the convict condemned to ſolitary confinement; regarding it as the ſureſt means of his amendment, by the change it effects in his ideas and temper. This notion ſeems to have influenced the founders of ſuch religions as enjoin faſts and abſtinence; and he who reflects on the power of our organs over the qualities of our mind will not fail to applaud the inſpectors of the priſons in Philadelphia for the ſagacity of their ſyſtem.

A convict who is not ſentenced to ſolitary confinement is, on his entrance into the priſon, put into a common room with others. His clothes are taken off, and in ſome caſes burnt; and a dreſs common to all the priſoners given to him. He is inſtructed in the regulations of the priſon, and examined reſpecting the ſpecies of labour he is capable of purſuing.

The civil officer who conducts the convict to priſon, delivers to the inſpectors a paper containing an account of his offence; the circumſtances by which it is heightened or extenuated; the facts that appeared on his trial; the crimes of which he has in any former time been accuſed; in a word, the entire character and hiſtory of the man

man as far as it can be gathered. The document is tranſmitted by the court that pronounced the ſentence; and enables the inſpectors to form an opinion of the priſoner, and to conduct themſelves toward him as the caſe requires.

The labour allotted to priſoners is proportioned to their ſtrength, and proficiency in the employment. In the priſons there are looms; carpenters' benches; and ſhops fitted up for ſhoemakers and taylors. Convicts that cannot avail themſelves of any of theſe, are employed in ſawing, or poliſhing marble; preparing the cedar for pencils; grinding plaiſter of Paris; combing wool; or beating hemp. The inſpectors have lately added a manufacture of nails, which employs a great many hands, and produces a large profit to the priſon. Convicts that are unable to endure hard labour, and are little expert at any thing, are employed in ſorting wool, horſe-hair, and flax.

The bargain for the labour of the priſoners is made between the jailor and the tradeſmen of the city, in the preſence of the convict. Out of his earnings, the convict pays for his board, his portion of the common expences of the houſe, and the uſe and wear of his tools; the rate of payment for theſe things, being neceſſarily governed by circumſtances, is fixed by the inſpectors four times in every year; it is at preſent

fifteen pence per day, and an old man, who can do nothing but pick hemp, is able to gain one and twenty or two and twenty pence per day. There are convicts who earn more than a dollar per day.

Beſides the money which the convict pays to the priſon from his earnings, the law compells him to reimburſe the ſtate the expences of his trial, and to pay a fine which is always part of the ſentence. The fine includes a ſum to be paid into the treaſury of the ſtate; and in caſe of theft, a ſum ſufficient to pay for the ſtolen property. The money to be paid into the treaſury is frequenly remitted, but never the expences of the trial, nor the reſtitution of the ſtolen property. The county advances the money for the expences of the trial; and is repaid from the labour of the convict, if his family or friends do not pay it for him.

The women are employed in ſpinning, ſewing, combing wool, and waſhing for the priſon. They pay ſeven-pence per day for their board; and they can earn more than that if they are induſtrious. As their labour is not ſo hard as that of the men their food is leſs expenſive.

The jailor does not here, as is too frequently the practice in other places, levy contributions on misfortune and miſery. Nothing is demanded

manded on the priſoner's entrance into priſon, or on his quitting it; nothing for particular indulgences to the individual.

The ſmallneſs of the ſalary of certain ſituations in Europe ſeems to authoriſe thoſe who fill them in the exactions by which they increaſe their revenue; and it is difficult for perſons of higher rank, whoſe office it is to ſuperintend their conduct, to make rigid enquiries where they know the ſubaltern has not the ſalary to provide the neceſſaries of life.

The rapacious exactions to which I allude, are exerciſed by perſons of the vileſt condition in ſociety; and they are often levied as an indemnity for the contempt and hatred which thoſe perſons encounter.

But here, where no priſoner is ever put in irons; where blows and even ill language is ſtrictly forbidden to all perſons who approach them; where the whole economy of the priſon tends to make it a ſcene of reform; the office of jailor never wounds the delicay of the moſt honourable characters. The ſalaries are very ſufficient, even of the under jailors; the daily viſits of the inſpectors are a complete check upon the jailors, and not only excludes all exaction, but produces conſtant evidence that none can exiſt in the priſons.

Every priſoner has a ſmall book in which are entered the bargains made in his preſence for his labour, and the amount of the produce; and againſt this, his debts for the expences of his trial, the fine to which he is condemned, the ſum to be paid for the uſe and deſtruction of his tools, his clothes, and his board; and the account is audited and paſſed every three months in the preſence of the inſpectors. A copy of the account is entered in a general regiſter; and is alſo paſſed every three months.

The produce of the labour is paid into the treaſury of the county, which thus becomes the banker of the priſoner, to prevent the ſuſpicions that would ariſe if the jailor held the money in his hands. The jailor, in fact, is no more than the agent between the convict and his employer; and the price of labour in the priſon is the ſame as out of doors; and the inſpectors take care that no fraud is practiſed upon the convicts.

The jailor purchaſes the proviſions in the preſence of the inſpectors. A certain quantity is allowed to each priſoner, and is weighed out before the cook, who is himſelf a convict, and is paid by his fellow priſoners for his labour.

To theſe precautions of inceſſant inſpection, and of the ample ſalary of the jailors, which removes the temptation to fraud on their part, is joined

joined the powerful controul of public opinion. The humanity and inflexible probity of the inſpectors is ſo manifeſt, their deſire of the welfare of the convicts is ſo unequivocal, and their care that no injuſtice be done them ſo conſtant, that to rob them would appear in the public eye a more deteſtable crime than any other ſpecies of robbery.

The rooms in which the priſoners ſleep are on the firſt floor; each room contains ten or twelve bedſteads, furniſhed with mattraſſes, ſheets, and a ſufficiency of covering; and every priſoner has a bed to himſelf. Each room is well aired and well lighted. The priſoners quit their chambers at day-break, and do not return till the hour of going to bed. They are then ſhut up without light. When the weather is ſevere, a little fire is allowed them; the whole of the building being vaulted, there is no danger of their burning it down; and if they ſhould be tempted to ſet fire to their beds, they would do no more than ſubject themſelves to periſh, and if they eſcaped would be obliged to pay for the miſchief done.

Every morning, before the convicts go to work, they are obliged to waſh their hands and face. In ſummer they bathe twice a month, in a bath made for that uſe in the middle of the court. They are regularly ſhaved twice a week;

and the barber, who is alſo a convict, is paid out of the fifteen pence per day deducted out of each priſoner's labour. Their linen is changed twice a week.

All heavy work is done in the courts; and light trades are followed in rooms on the ſame floor with their chambers, but in a ſeparate part of the building. They are not ſhut in while they work; but each is under the ſuperintendance of the reſt. There are ſeldom more than five or ſix in one of theſe ſhops.

The under jailors, of whom there are four to each priſon, are obliged to be continually in the courts, chambers, or corridors; in fine, among the priſoners.

All converſation is prohited the priſoners, beyond what neceſſarily ariſes in the purſuit of their occupations. They are forbidden to reproach each other with their crimes, or even to ſpeak of the cauſe of their impriſonment. The ſame ſilence is impoſed upon them at table. Their breakfaſt and ſupper is a pudding of flour made from Indian corn, with which they eat treacle. At dinner, each is ſerved with half a pound of meat, half a pound of bread, and vegetables. Their drink is always water. Never, on any pretence, are they permitted to taſte fermented liquors, not even ſmall beer. All ſuch liquors

liquors are prohibited; and the prohibition is religiouſly obſerved. . The excitement produced by fermented liquors is momentary, and deceitful; and as it would heat the juices of the convict, would conſequently interfere with the ſyſtem of temperance through which it is intended to effect a change in his diſpoſition. The healthy vigour which is neceſſary for him, will be derived from the ſubſtantial but moderate food that is given him. Peals of laughter, ſongs, and ſhouts, are prohibited; not only as they would be inconvenient and diſagreeable in the priſon, but becauſe they diſturb the tranquillity which is to be cultivated and encreaſed in the priſoner's temper.

When a convict violates a regulation of the priſon, he is admoniſhed for the firſt offence by the inſpector, the jailor, or the under jailor. If he repeats his offence, he is ſent into ſolitary confinement. This is a puniſhment which the jailor may himſelf inflict; but in every ſuch caſe he is obliged inſtantly to ſend an account of it to the inſpector.

When a convict is idle, and will not work, he is ſent into ſolitary confinement; and this puniſhment is the greater, becauſe he muſt redeem the time he has loſt when he returns to labour, as the expences of the houſe are charged againſt

him even for the time of his ſolitary confinement.

The four under jailors are all the night on duty; two of whom are in the room ſet apart for the inſpectors, and the other two walk continually in the corridors. When there is any extraordinary noiſe, they waken the jailor, with whom they proceed to the chamber whence the noiſe comes, and conduct the offenders to the ſolitary cells. Such caſes are very rare. It perhaps does not happen four times a year that a priſoner is puniſhed; and no other puniſhment is inflicted in the priſon but ſolitary confinement.

The jailors and under-jailors are not permitted to have either arms or dogs. They are even forbidden to carry a ſmall ſtick, leaſt in a moment of anger they ſhould ſtrike a priſoner, and the tranquillity ſo much cultivated, and from which ſo much is expected, be diſturbed. An under jailor who is found drunk, or who treats a priſoner a ſecond time with unprovoked rigour, is immediately diſcharged.

The inſpectors take occaſion to converſe with the priſoners; they endeavour to become acquainted with them; they give them advice and conſolation, and labour to reconcile them to their own conſciences. Theſe converſations are not too frequent, leſt they ſhould produce the leſs effect.

effect. The appearance of the priſoners is generally calm and ſerious; it has nothing of that hard inſolence, or the malignant ſcowl, or the mean ſervility, that we find in the priſoners of Europe. A priſoner here is at once reſerved and reſpectful.

The female convicts are in a wing ſeparated from the dwelling of the men. They are ſuffered to mingle with women that are priſoners for debt—an indulgence that is never granted the men. It is ſuppoſed that the example of women of a better order will tend to correct the manners of the depraved; and this is true; for in that ſex modeſty and an honeſt ſhame have always an influence which men, when they are once perverted, do not feel.

Waſhing is the only labour carried on in the court belonging to the women, of which they otherwiſe make uſe at their pleaſure. The number of female convicts ſeldom exceeds five or ſix. Silence is leſs rigidly exacted from them; and they are not ſo ſtrictly guarded as the men. One of them cooks for the reſt; and they wait on each other in ſickneſs; but ſickneſs is rare among them.

The new economy introduced into the priſons has made a material change relative to diſeaſes. Formerly there were from two hundred and ſixty

to

to three hundred and twenty patients, afflicted with the itch, in one quarter; and in the ſame interval, under the new ſyſtem, they do not amount to forty. This aſtoniſhing difference is ſolely to be attributed to the change of economy. Formerly the licence that reigned in the priſons was the conſtant occaſion of filthineſs, drunkenneſs, quarrels, and diſguſting diſeaſes. At preſent there are no patients in the priſons, but ſome afflicted with the rheumatiſm, or the effect of accidents. In the four laſt years, only two priſoners have died, and they died of the ſmall-pox.

If the diſorder is not contagious, the patient is attended in his chamber; but if contagion is apprehended, he is put in a room by himſelf.

Every Sunday morning the priſoners attend a ſermon, preached by a miniſter, whoſe zeal leads him to the priſon; nor is it inquired to what ſect he belongs. Liberty of conſcience is as unreſtricted in the priſons as it is throughout Pennſylvania. Yet as the inhabitants of the ſtate are almoſt all of them Chriſtians, a chapter is read to the priſoners from the Bible. The ſermons in general turn more on morality than doctrinal points, and are applicable to the ſituation of the convicts. All the priſoners, of every kind and both ſexes, attend the ſervice, excepting thoſe who

who are condemned to ſolitary confinement. In the evening there is another ſermon; and pious books are given to thoſe who requeſt it.

The ſuperintendance of the adminiſtration of the priſon is committed to twelve inſpectors. Six of theſe are replaced by a new election every ſix months, and the election is made by the inſpectors themſelves. The elections are thus frequent, that the duty, which is very painful in its nature, may not fall too heavily on individuals. But an inſpector may be continued in office beyond his term, with his own conſent.

The inſpectors meet every week; and two of them, who have the additional title of *viſitors*, are obliged at leaſt to make two viſits in eight days to the priſons. There is ſcarcely a day paſſes in which they do not make their viſit; and frequently ſome who are not on that duty do the ſame. The inſpectors are for the moſt part Quakers; and it is not to be forgotten, that it is to the ſociety of Quakers that the public is indebted for the eſtabliſhment, protection, and ſucceſs of the new ſyſtem.

To one of theſe people, whoſe name is CALEB LOWNES, is to be given the largeſt ſhare of the honour of this great reform. The opinions of Beccaria and Howard eaſily took root in his humane heart. It was he who animated his brethren

thren with zeal for the enlightened ſyſtem of theſe great men; it was he who exhorted a change in the priſons—who propoſed to ſubſtitute humanity, joined to firmneſs, for fetters and ſtripes—who ſuffered himſelf to be treated as a wild viſionary, without being turned aſide from his purſuit, perfectly confiding in the ſucceſs of his labour. It was he whoſe unwearied zeal gained over to his cauſe whoever was neceſſary to its protection; who obtained from the legiſlature thoſe laws, I will not only ſay that humanity claimed, but that juſtice and an enlarged policy demanded. In a word, it is he who conſents at every election to be an inſpector, and is indeed the principal agent of that great work of reaſon and humanity. May God ſhower his bleſſings on the head of this benefactor of the human race!

The judges at firſt oppoſed this reform; except one among them, who, younger than the reſt, and deſpairing leſs of the human character, embraced the reform with ardour. He aſſociated himſelf to the labours of Caleb Lownes, aiding him with the advice of a man verſed in juriſprudence; and, having ſhared the difficulties, he deſerved to ſhare in the glories of the undertaking. The name of this judge was WILLIAM BRADFORD. He was at that time the attorney-

attorney-general of Pennſylvania, and was afterwards the attorney-general of the United States. He died lately, honoured with the univerſal eſteem and love of his fellow-citizens.

This is an homage which I render the more readily to his memory, as it includes no cenſure on the other judges. While they withheld their ſanction from the reform, they were influenced by doubts of its efficacy; and they were prompt in aiding the plan when they were convinced of their miſtake; nor were they to be deterred by the opinion they had previouſly given;—a conduct that will not be thought little of, by thoſe who have had occaſion to contemplate the operations of ſelf-love.

The priſons, under the new regulations, are ſubject to the ſuperintendance of the mayor of Philadelphia, and judges appointed for that purpoſe. They form a committee, whoſe duty it is to viſit the priſons once in every quarter. The ſame duty is impoſed upon the governor of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, the judges of the ſeveral ſuperior courts, and the grand juries.

Theſe numerous viſits are ordained by the legiſlature, to enſure the ſucceſs of this humane plan, by watching over the interior economy of the priſons, if it were even poſſible for the zeal of the

the inſpectors to relax. They have proved, however, a recompence for the trouble they have occaſioned; they demonſtrated the value of the new ſyſtem; and induced the friends of humanity to overcome the obſtacles, that in every country are thrown in the way of men who devote themſelves to the overthrowing of abuſes.

The inſpectors have the right to preſent petitions to the governor, for the pardon of criminals; which they never fail to uſe, when they are convinced of the amendment of the convict, and of his having acquired a capital by his labour, or of having means of ſubſiſtence among his friends.

The governor of Pennſylvania never refuſes a pardon, on the petition of the inſpectors; even a murderer may hope to obtain it, although, in that caſe, it is never granted, unleſs the petition is ſigned by the relations and friends of the perſon murdered. The inſpectors ſeldom preſent petitions in behalf of convicts of that claſs; they even uſe their prerogative with moderation for all others; but every priſoner knows that it may be employed for him, and his heart, warmed by hope, feels an intereſt in his becoming a better man. Who that is without hope, and without fear, was ever happily influenced in his conduct?

When

When priſoners are diſcharged, they receive the amount of the ſavings of their labour in money, if the inſpectors are perſuaded that they will make a good uſe of it, or in clothes, when the inſpectors have not that confidence. Sometimes convicts diſpoſe of the ſavings of their labour, while they are ſtill in priſon, in the maintaining their families. Such is the admirable effects of the new ſyſtem, that of a hundred convicts diſcharged, either in conſequence of pardons, or at the expiration of the term of their ſentence, there are not two committed for new crimes; under the ancient ſyſtem, the priſons were filled with old and known offenders, who, like the criminals in Europe, left their priſons every time with newly acquired vices, and availed themſelves of their liberty only to commit new depredations, and were again led back to priſon, till they terminated their wretched lives on the ſcaffold.

I will here give a table of the number and claſſes of convicts for the four laſt years of the ancient ſyſtem, and the four firſt of the new.

It would be a very deſireable thing to add a table of the crimes committed, and the ſentences paſſed, in the four years immediately preceding the amelioration of the penal code; but the regiſters

giſters of the priſons were carried off by the perſon who at that time had the cuſtody of them.

It was not till the year 1790, that the law was paſſed that gave the new ſyſtem to the priſons; and it was not till 1791, that it was put in execution.

TABLE

TABLE *of the Number and Claſſes of Convicts during th*

PERIODS.	Numb. of Convicts.			Crimes of which t								
	From the City and County of Philadelphia, Men.	From the City and County of Philadelphia, Women.	From other Parts of the State.	Murder	Man-Slaughter	Highway Robbery	Burglary	Theft	Forgery	Coining	Petty Larcenies. 1ſt Degree.	Petty Larcenies. 2d Degree.
ANCIENT SYSTEM.												
From January 1787 to May 1788 . .	163	23				20	20	122	5		2	
From May 1788 to May 1789 . . .	95	10	8			5	24	57				
From May 1789 to May 1790 . . .	108	20	6	6		10	13	82		3	2	
From May 1790 to June 1791 . . .	114	39	8	3		4	20	113		3		
Total	480	92	22	9		39	77	374	5	6	4	
NEW SYSTEM.												
From June 1791 to June 1792 . . .	44	12	9		1	2	2	42	7		1	
From June 1792 to June 1793 . . .	25	17	19		2	1	11	40		1		
From June 1793 to June 1794 . . .	40	10	11		1		2	34	3	1	2	
From June 1794 to March 1795 .	35	14	7		1		1	47		2		
Total	144	53	46		5	3	16	163	10	4	3	

SUMM

Crimes and Offences.	Under the Ancient Syſtem.	Ne
Murder	9	
Man-Slaughter		
Highway Robbery	39	
Burglary	77	
Theft	374	
Forgery	5	
Coining	6	
Petty Larceny. 1ſt Degree.	4	
Petty Larceny. 2d Degree.	13	
	527	

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

1. In the four firſt of the eight years named in the table, criminals were committed to the priſons of Philadelphia, only from the county and city of Philadelphia; in the four laſt years, criminals were ſent from every part of Pennſylvania to the priſons of Philadelphia.

2. Of the three hundred and twenty-one convicts that were foreigners and white men in the firſt period of four years, one hundred and thirty-one were Iriſh, and eighty-four Engliſh or Scotch. In the laſt period of four years, of one hundred and thirty-five convicts that were white men, ninety-two were Iriſh, and nineteen Engliſh or Scotch. The Iriſh, therefore, in both periods, were more than two-thirds of the foreigners, and nearly the half of the whole number of priſoners; and part of the priſoners concealing the name of their country, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe there were more Iriſh than were entered as ſuch in the regiſter.

3. In the firſt period of four years, ſeventy-three criminals were convicted of new crimes, after having been diſcharged, and ſome of theſe even for the fifth and ſixth time; while five only, belonging to the laſt period of four years, were convicted of new crimes after being diſcharged

4. Under both the old and the new ſyſtem, crimes have been multiplied in Philadelphia and its environs, in a proportion greatly exceeding that of all the reſt of the ſtate of Pennſylvania.

In the four years, therefore, of the new ſyſtem, more than two hundred have been reſtored as uſeful perſons to ſociety, who, under the old ſyſtem, and under a penal code of laws reſembling that of almoſt every ſtate of Europe, were deſtined either to be the ſcourge of their fellow creatures, or to be kept ſecluded from them, or to be delivered over to violent deaths.

Criminals were not only rendered more uſeful, but were in reality more ſeverely puniſhed. The greater part of them would have readily, in the firſt inſtance, preferred death to ſolitary confinement; and all were infinitely more ſatisfied with the diſorder and vice of the old priſons, than with the humane and juſt, but uniform and ſteady adminiſtration of the new. It is in deſpite of themſelves that they are reſtored to ſociety; but how much reaſon have they and their families to be grateful to the legiſlature that has ſnatched them from their miſeries? I refer ſuch of my readers as would know more of this intereſting ſubject to my former work, from which I have been able at preſent to give a very incompetent extract.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE POLICE.

The laſt law relative to the regulation of the poor was paſſed in the year 1771. It appoints overſeers of the poor, both in Philadelphia and other cities of the ſtate. It ordains the levying of taxes for their proviſion; recommends the eſtabliſhment of houſes of induſtry; and regulates the manner of removing poor families who become burthenſome, and have not acquired the right of being relieved in the city where they reſide.

The right of being relieved is acquired by a year's reſidence; and payment, during that time, of the poor rates. Domeſtics and apprentices acquire the right ſimply by a year's reſidence. All perſons who have not acquired the right, and are declared by the overſeers of the poor to be in danger of becoming chargeable to the city, are conveyed to the place of their birth; the overſeers of the poor of which place are to reimburſe the city that has thus conveyed them the expences of the journey. Every father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or child, of poor perſons not able to gain their livelihood, is obliged to provide for them, if they have the means, on the penalty of five dollars and a half for every month that they neglect this ſacred duty. An appeal is allowed to the court of juſtices of the

peace, from the ſentence of the overſeer of the poor, who, in the firſt inſtance, decides in ſuch caſes.

A law of Pennſylvania, paſſed in 1789, gave every foreigner, although not a reſident in America, the right of acquiring and poſſeſſing every ſpecies of property, as if he were a member of the ſtate. This law, which was to be in force only for two years, was renewed at the end of that period, and no doubt will continue to be renewed till it is declared permanent. This law deſerves to be placed among the moſt enlightened and politic of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and will, no doubt, induce foreigners to ſettle in that fine country, in preference to every other.

The laws relative to the Indian natives, that were paſſed by the aſſemblies of Pennſylvania, were characteriſed by the foreſight and equity which governed William Penn in all his tranſactions with thoſe people; but by the federal conſtitution, the congreſs only can paſs laws relative to the commerce of the ſeveral ſtates with foreign nations, in which deſcription the Indians are compriſed. Pennſylvania, therefore, ſince it was independent, has no particular law on that ſubject.

Liberty of conſcience is more compleat in Pennſylvania than in any of the other ſtates. It

was

was ſo in the birth of the colony; yet, by a law of 1705, the inhabitants were compelled to profeſs a belief in Jeſus Chriſt, in the Holy Ghoſt, and the Scriptures. This profeſſion was neceſſary to place an inhabitant of the ſtate out of the reach of perſecution. The conſtitution adopted at the beginning of the revolution gave wider limits to liberty of conſcience; and finally, the conſtitution made in 1790 declares, "that every man has a natural right, of which he cannot be juſtly deprived, to worſhip God according to the dictates of his own conſcience; that no man can juſtly be compelled to obſerve any form of worſhip, or to incur any expence for public worſhip; that no human authority can, on any pretence, force the conſciences of men; and that no preference can be given by law to any particular form of worſhip." It adds, "that every man, acknowledging the exiſtence of God, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, may hold any office in the republic of Pennſylvania."

In fact, there is no ſtate in the Union in which religion and its miniſters have leſs influence than in this ſtate; its miniſters here, as every where elſe, are willing enough to erect themſelves into a body, and to influence the public opinion, but the number that favour their pretenſions is ſo ſmall, that it can ſcarcely be ſaid to exiſt.

The laws that enjoin the obſervation of Sunday, are more regarded in Pennſylvania than in any of the northern ſtates, becauſe they are more reaſonable and moderate. They prohibit merely the ſelling of goods in an open ſhop, or in the markets; following the chace; or attending any public diverſion. The law which prohibits games of hazard, and the fighting of game-cocks, are punctually obeyed, becauſe it is agreeable to the manners and taſte of the people; but that which impoſes a penalty of three quarters of a dollar for drunkenneſs is far from being ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE MILITARY.

The law regulating the militia was paſſed in 1793. Every male, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, is in fact a ſoldier of the ſtate. The captain of the company in the diſtrict enrolls every young man who attains the age of eighteen: a notice, which is ſerved upon him by a ſubaltern of the company, is the only form required to enter him in the militia, in which he remains till he is five and forty. The profeſſions which exempt males from this ſervice are nearly the ſame as thoſe that give the ſame exemption in the other ſtates. White men who are domeſtics hired for a term, and apprentices, are exempt during the term of their engagement, except

except in the caſe of an actual invaſion. The militia is compoſed of diviſions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies. The brigades are formed of regiments, and never exceed eight, nor are leſs than two; regiments are compoſed of two battalions; and each battalion of four companies, which, according to the population of the canton, may be compoſed of any number, from forty to eighty men. Every battalion has a company of grenadiers, and another of rifle-men. A company of artillery, and a body of cavalry are attached to every diviſion. A diviſion compriſes the militia of two or three counties, according to their population; and each county forms one brigade or more, as it is more or leſs populous. A diviſion is commanded by a major-general; a brigade, by a brigadier-general; a regiment, by a lieutenant-colonel; a battalion, by a major; and a company, by a captain, lieutenant, and enſign. Beſide the ſtaff-officers of the regiments, a brigadier-general inſpects the diviſions. The general officers are appointed by the governor; the lieutenant-colonels appoint their own majors; they are themſelves, as well as the captains, lieutenants, and enſigns, choſen by the ſoldiers, and non-commiſſioned officers of the regiment, battalion, or company, in which the vacancy happens. The commiſſion of the officers

is only for ſeven years. Every man enrolled in the militia, officer or private, trooper or foot-ſoldier, muſt provide himſelf with arms and equipage, under the penalty of a fine. When the commanding officer of a regiment declares a man not to be in a condition to comply with this requiſition, he is ſupplied with arms by the ſtate. The militia aſſembles twice in the year, either by companies or regiments.

The other articles of this voluminous law regulate the manner in which the ſervice of the militia is to be performed; its pay, when employed by the ſtate or the union, which pay is ſix dollars per month for each ſoldier. They determine the fines for every ſpecies of offence; the manner in which courts martial are to be compoſed and ſummoned. They apportion relief to every officer and ſoldier wounded in the ſervice, and to the widows and children of the ſlain. When the militia is employed in the ſervice of the union, it is ſubject to the laws of the Congreſs; but offences committed by individuals are taken cogniſance of by courts martial compoſed of its own body.

The ſtate of Pennſylvania includes twenty-three counties, and the militia is computed at a hundred or a hundred and ten thouſand men.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE ADMINISTRATION.

Although the interior navigation of the State of Pennſylvania has not made ſuch progreſs as that of New York, it is not for want of wiſdom and foreſight in the government. A law of 1778 declares the rivers Suſquehannah and Delaware, and all the rivers and creeks falling into them, to be public and free navigations, and places them under the guardianſhip and protection of the government. It prohibits the creating any new obſtacle to navigation, and enjoins the removal of all old ones. The ſame regulations were made ſucceſſively for the rivers Monongahela and Youghiogany, and all others in the State of Pennſylvania. Commiſſioners were appointed to enquire and make reports concerning the means of removing all obſtructions to the interior navigation, and to make communication by canals between the great rivers or lakes. The ſeveral companies who undertook to facilitate the navigation on the rivers, or to cut canals, were raiſed into corporations, and aided either by premiums from the ſtate, or by an authority to eſtabliſh tolls on the navigations or canals they formed; ſometimes the ſtate even gave them permiſſion to raiſe money by lottery. In many of theſe undertakings the ſums granted by the legiſlature were

were expended with utility to the ſtate, by completing the work. In others, they were miſemployed; ſchemes being adopted without a ſufficient examination of their obſtacles. But the legiſlature cauſes an annual return to be made to them of the condition and progreſs of theſe works; and it is not to be doubted that in a few years the interior navigation of Pennſylvania will be carried to the higheſt degree of perfection. We may reaſonably expect to ſee Lake Erie and the River Ohio communicate with the Suſquehannah and the Delaware. The number of land-carriages that would ſtill, from invincible obſtacles to navigation, in ſome parts be neceſſary would in fact be few, and their length greatly diminiſhed. The numberleſs creeks of Pennſylvania, cleared of the obſtacles to navigation, would afford for all the productions of the interior part of the country a ſure, ſpeedy, and cheap conveyance to the great rivers and lakes of the ſtate.

The roads are made and kept in repair by a levy on the townſhips. A ſurveyor of the roads is choſen by the townſhip. When a new road is to be made, the ſurveyors of the ſeveral townſhips, through which it is to be carried, ſuperintend its completion, and they have authority to levy a tax for this purpoſe on the lands. The tax muſt

muſt not exceed ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence in the pound of the annual income of the land, according to the valuation made for the levying of other taxes. Before the taxes for the roads can be raiſed, they are to receive the ſanction of two juſtices of the peace of the county; and the general court of juſtices of the peace take cognizance of all diſputes that ariſe on the ſubject of this tax.

The ſurveyors are choſen annually; and receive five per cent on the tax, and are paid beſides eighteen dollars per day when they are actually employed in the duties of their office. They hire labourers for the roads; for the law which regulates this matter diſpenſed with all perſonal ſervice on the high roads. They buy all the materials for making and repairing the roads; and their accounts are audited and ſigned every year by four commiſſioners choſen by the electors of the townſhip.

This law, the principal proviſions of which took place in 1772, was made only for ſeven years, but has ſince been conſtantly renewed at its expiration. Some of the clauſes have from time to time been altered; the modifications however are included in the above ſtatement.

The roads of Pennſylvania are in general better than thoſe of the other ſtates; eſpecially the roads

roads between the moſt populous towns. The bridges are alſo conſtructed in a more ſolid manner. The road from Philadelphia to Lancaſter, made by an incorporated company, is not indeed ſo good as the turnpike roads of England, but it is in very good condition; and, although the tolls are ſo high that a broad-wheeled waggon pays nearly two dollars and a half between theſe two cities, which is a diſtance of ſixty-ſix miles, no complaint is made, becauſe the waggons require only half the horſes they did before the road was made a turnpike, and perform the journey in half the time. The company that conſtructed this road is very flouriſhing; the ſhares, which at the firſt ſubſcription coſt three hundred dollars each, produce between eight and nine per cent, and bear a premium in their price.

LAWS RELATIVE TO FINANCE.

The law which regulates taxes was paſſed in 1795. Since the year 1789 no new taxes have been raiſed in Pennſylvania for the ſtate, there being no other than taxes levied for the interior uſes of the counties and cities; but the principles on which the county rates are determined and levied, would in all probability be followed in any tax that it might be neceſſary to levy for the ſtate.

The

The inhabitants of every county elect three commiſſioners, who remain three years in office, except that one goes out every year by rotation, and a new commiſſioner ſucceeds him. The inhabitants of every townſhip elect, every three years, an aſſeſſor and two aſſiſtants, to apportion the rates impoſed on the townſhip. The aſſeſſors make a return every three years to the commiſſioners of the county, of the names and dwellings (where it is poſſible) of the proprietors of lands, occupied or not occupied, and of the lands not yet cleared, and of the houſes and ſpots of ground belonging to the town; of all the inhabitants of the townſhip, marking their ſeveral employments, profeſſions, or conditions; and alſo a liſt of all horſes and horned cattle above four years old, with a valuation of them; and finally, an eſtimate of the proportion of the tax that may be laid reſpectively on all owners of perſonal and real property. The commiſſioners of the county examine and compare all the liſts; and have authority to make alterations in the taxes, provided they do not alter the relative valuations of the ſeveral properties in the ſame townſhip. The aſſeſſment made in conſequence of theſe returns by the commiſſioners, forms the rule for the levying the taxes for the three ſucceeding years. The commiſſioners are never to lay more on the land

land than one per cent of their computed value. When they are obliged to carry the tax on land to the full extent of one per cent, they are to levy the following taxes:—on every freeman, without apparent employment, from half a dollar to ten dollars; on every labourer, a ſum not exceeding two dollars; on every vintner, ſhopkeeper, or retailer of goods, from half a dollar to five dollars; on every broker, banker, merchant, lawyer, and phyſician, from one dollar to ten; on all other profeſſions, from one quarter of a dollar to eight dollars; on every proprietor of ſlaves, a dollar for each ſlave. All the taxes that are not laid on land are regulated by that tax, and conſequently diminiſh in proportion as the tax on land falls ſhort of one per cent, which is its *maximum*.

The quantity of taxes being determined, the commiſſioners iſſue an order to the aſſeſſors to apportion and levy them on the individuals; but an appeal lies to the commiſſioners from their aſſeſſment. The tenants of the land are reſponſible for the tax on land, but are authoriſed to deduct it from the rent. Lands not cleared are ſubject to the tax; and if the proprietor is not to be found, or does not pay the tax during three ſucceſſive years, the commiſſioners may order as much of the land to be ſold as is neceſſary for the payment of the arrears.

The

The commiſſioners of the county appoint the receivers of the county, and the collectors of the townſhips. Each commiſſioner is paid one dollar and a third for every day that he is actually employed in his office; the aſſeſſors one dollar.

The expence of the aſſeſſment and collection for the whole ſtate is eſtimated at ten thouſand dollars. The collectors are generally paid five per cent on the collection. The treaſurer of the committee is paid a dollar for every hundred pounds which he receives and pays.

The law has proviſions for the exact levying of the taxes; and impoſes reſponſibility on the collectors and other officers; and impoſes fines for neglect or fraud in the diſcharge of their duty.

The ſtate, as I have obſerved, levies no new taxes. Its old duties are—on marriages, taverns, and public ſales by authority, amounting annually from twelve to thirteen thouſand dollars. The legiſlature ſuppreſſed, in 1795, the tax on carriages, and ſome other taxes, which were formerly impoſed for the ſervice of the ſtate.

The annual expenditure of the ſtate amounts to about an hundred and thirty thouſand dollars; it conſiſts of the ſalary of the governor, the ſecretary and other officers of ſtate, and of the judges; the expence of the courts of circuit; the ſalary of the treaſurer and his clerks; the expence

pence of the office for the ſale of lands; the appointments of the members of the ſenate, and the houſe of repreſentatives; the ſalaries of ſome other civil officers; and the pay of ſome militia officers.

The revenues which, with the old duties, enable the ſtate to provide for its expenditure without additional taxes, conſiſt in the intereſt of a capital accruing from the ſale of lands, for the moſt part placed in the banks. This capital amounts at preſent to one million five hundred thouſand dollars; a million of which is in the bank of Pennſylvania, and five hundred thouſand in that of the United States. Theſe ſums bear an intereſt according to the dividends of the reſpective banks; but it may be ſtated to be from nine to ten per cent. Arrears of duties, and arrears of purchaſe-money for the public lands, form another branch of the revenue of the ſtate. The arrears of every kind come in very ſlowly. Several contradictory laws ſerve as an excuſe to the creditors of the ſtate for default of payment. Theſe are alſo protected by members of the legiſlature, who have a perſonal intereſt in the delay. The government of Pennſylvania is indeed unwilling to employ its force, eſpecially for the recovery of arrears. There are two inſtances which will ſufficiently ſhow the backwardneſs of the

the government to compel the payment of the impoſts. There are ten auctioneers eſtabliſhed at Philadelphia for public ſales. Six of theſe have punctually paid the duties impoſed upon ſuch ſales; the other four have not even condeſcended to give an account of their ſales. The law enjoins every man of eighteen years of age to ſerve as a militia-man; and impoſes a fine of a dollar every time that he is abſent from the meeting of his regiment, and a fine of twelve dollars per month for all the time that he is abſent when his regiment is on ſervice. The defaulters are ſo numerous, that no other fund but the fines due for offences are ſet aſide for the expence of the militia; and the fines are ſo ill paid, that at preſent there is a deficiency of more than one hundred thouſand dollars. It is to be expected, however, that the ſtate will in future be more rigorous in the collection of its revenues; the neceſſity of this rigour begins to be felt, and circumſtances are more favourable than heretofore for its exerciſe.

The debts due to the ſtate, from individuals for arrears, and from the Union for certain ſums advanced, and for which the Union is reſponſible, amounted, in the beginning of 1797, by the ſtatement of the treaſury, to nine hundred and twenty-four thouſand five hundred and forty-

four dollars ſeven-tenths. Pennſylvania has alſo ſeveral other claims on the treaſury of the United States, for expences incurred on behalf of the Union.

By the balance ſtruck by the commiſſioners of the congreſs, the ſtate of Pennſylvania is debtor for the ſum of ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and nine dollars.

Certain duties, that were formerly the perquiſite of the ſecretary of ſtate and other public officers, have been purchaſed by the legiſlature, and are become part of the public revenue. There are other duties attached as perquiſites to other officers, which the legiſlature will gradually, and by the ſame means, reſtore to the public treaſury.

LAWS RESPECTING THE SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The laws that regulate the ſale of public lands are deemed better in Pennſylvania than in any other of the ſtates.

Before the revolution, the property of the lands belonged to the governor; that is to ſay, to the family of William Penn. The congreſs of Pennſylvania paſſed a law in 1779, which transferred the property to the ſtate, giving the family of Penn, for indemnity, the ſum of a hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, and leaving

leaving them in poſſeſſion of the lands they poſſeſſed as their own proper eſtates. The lands which became the property of the ſtate were immenſe. They were various enormous tracts that William Penn and his heirs had purchaſed of the Indians; parcels of which they ſold for their own profit. A law in 1781, which eſtabliſhed an office called the *land-office*, enjoined the poſſeſſors of warrants (which were orders from the ſurveyor-general of the ſtate to his deputy, to meaſure out a certain tract of land, and were a kind of evidence of the purchaſe of the eſtate), obtained under the old government, to bring them to the land-office, where they were annulled, if the purchaſe-money had not been paid. In 1783, the aſſembly ſet aſide a large tract of land in the weſt of its territory, and to the north of the Ohio, to be diſpoſed of, for certain billets which the troops of Pennſylvania had received during the war for their pay, and whoſe current value was greatly below the ſums for which they were iſſued. The billets were to be taken in payment for the lands at their nominal value; and theſe lands were called, and indeed continue to be known by the name of, *depreciation lands*. The aſſembly alſo ſet aſide another tract of land, to the north of thoſe I have juſt named, called *donation lands*, becauſe they were

were to be given as a reward to the officers and ſoldiers of the militia of Pennſylvania, in certain portions, according to their rank. It was not, however, till 1785, that theſe lands were actually put up to ſale; and then they were put up ſucceſſively, in various parcels, at different prices, and on different conditions. The acquiſitions made from the Indians in 1788 were, by the nature of the lands, divided into two claſſes—thoſe to the weſt of the Allegany mountains were offered to ſale for ten pounds for a hundred acres; thoſe to the eaſt of the mountains, being inferior in quality, for three pounds ten ſhillings.

The quantity of lands offered to ſale, and the ſcarcity or plenty of money, taken relatively, cauſed the price the aſſembly of Pennſylvania put upon the land and even the conditions of ſale to fluctuate, independently of the quality of the land. Lots at one time amounted only to two hundred acres, while a prohibition exiſted to demand a warrant for more than two ſuch lots; afterwards lots were extended to a thouſand acres, without any reſtriction on the number that an individual might acquire. The price has varied, from fourteen dollars for an hundred acres to twenty-ſix and fifty-three. In certain purchaſes, the billets of the ſtate were received in payment; in others, and particularly ſince the year 1793, they

they were not ſo. The laſt ſales to the north of the Ohio, and to the weſt of the Allegany Mountains, were clogged with a condition, that the purchaſer ſhould clear the land, and encloſe and cultivate it, in the proportion of one acre for a hundred; erect a dwelling-houſe, and eſtabliſh a family, who ſhould reſide five ſucceeding years there; and the quantity to be purchaſed by an individual was reſtricted to four hundred acres.

If, on ſpots of the vaſt tracts of lands bought of the Indians, there happened to be inhabitants, the law gave them the option of purchaſing the lots on which they dwelt.

It was not till 1792, that the ſtate concluded the purchaſe of all the lands within its boundaries. In 1786, the ſtate purchaſed the country extending from the Mountains of Allegany to the Ohio, reaching as far as the forty-firſt degree. It ſtill remained to acquire the lands on its northern boundary; and that purchaſe was concluded in 1792.

In 1794, the legiſlature finding that immenſe portions of the public lands had been ſold without their preciſe boundaries being deſcribed, and that the lands which remained in the hands of the ſtate were not accurately known, ſuſpended the ſales. And this law reflects great honour on

the aſſembly of Pennſylvania; becauſe it guarantees individuals from the injury which the avidity for the acquiſition of land made too common; becauſe the uncertainty of the bounds of the lands that remained undiſpoſed of, often gave an opportunity of ſelling the lands of the ſtate twice, and thereby increaſed its revenue; and it is known, that the legiſlatures of the other ſtates have not acted with the ſame delicacy in the ſame circumſtances.

Although the laws of Pennſylvania reſpecting the ſale of lands have been in general framed with equity and wiſdom, abuſes relative to that ſubject have nevertheleſs been great and numerous, perhaps indeed more ſo than in any of the other ſtates, on account of the immenſe quantity of lands on ſale. Speculations on the ſales of land bought from the public afford a ſubject of gaming, common in almoſt all the ſtates. The wealth and rapacity of many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia inflamed this diſorder in a particular manner in this ſtate. Men of fortune and influence, acquainted with the proceedings of Congreſs for the payment of the paper currency, conſpired to diminiſh the value of that paper, and afterwards bought it up and gave it in payment for public lands, at a profit of ten hundred and

ſometimes

ſometimes thirty hundred per cent. The *depreciation* and the *donation lands* were fertile ſubjects of their ſpeculation.

The titles of individuals to lands bought from the public, are more ſecure in Pennſylvania than in any other of the ſtates, both becauſe the firſt purchaſes have been carefully recogniſed, and becauſe the *land-office* has developed all that relates to the titles to the public lands, with a degree of care, and a ſpirit of equity, no where elſe to be found.

Complaints have been made within theſe laſt two or three years, that the affairs of the land-office are not conducted with ſo much attention and regularity as formerly; but the members of the legiſlature have never been reproached, as ſome other of the ſtates have been, for laws relative to the ſale of lands and their conſequent miſchiefs.

In the courſe of my journal, I have ſpoken of diſputes that long exiſted between the ſtates of Pennſylvania and Connecticut, concerning the property of conſiderable tracts of land on the Suſquehannah, between Wilkſbarre and Tioga. Theſe lands were finally adjudged to the ſtate of Pennſylvania; and all appeal prohibited the ſtate of Connecticut. But theſe lands are filled with inhabitants who hold them by titles from Con-

necticut, either by purchaſe, or ſimply by poſſeſſion; notwithſtanding which they are ſold like the other public lands by the ſtate of Pennſylvania. Among the perſons who hold theſe lands from Connecticut, many acquired them regularly, have been long in poſſeſſion, and, by the ſums given for them, and the labour expended on them, have made good their title, at leaſt in equity; but a much greater number hold theſe lands by leſs favourable titles. For three years paſt, the legiſlature of Pennſylvania has been backward to execute the judgments of the courts, ejecting the poſſeſſors of theſe lands; and every day the number of uſurpations augments; ancient claims are multiplied, till the judgments of the courts can no longer be enforced without military aid. In the laſt ſeſſion, the houſe of repreſentatives paſſed a vote, authoriſing the governor to employ the militia in that ſervice; but the ſenate negatived the propoſition. The motives of their negative are not very apparent, ſince, in the end, this meaſure muſt be adopted; and although, no doubt, it will create many diſcontents, yet, carried into execution with the juſtice and moderation from which the legiſlature will not depart, it will remove a leaven that continually affects the ſtate.

The diſputes in that quarter are not the only diſputes

diſputes of the kind that have diſturbed Pennſylvania. There are others on the borders of the Ohio, which may occaſion conſiderable diſorders, without the prudent and timely interference of the legiſlature. In 1792, the ſtate of Pennſylvania paſſed a law, to put up to ſale the lands to the north-weſt of the Ohio, in conſequence of which they were divided into lots of four hundred acres. Patents neceſſary to give a title to theſe lots, were to be obtained in two different ways;—firſt, by an engagement to ſettle immediately on the lot—and in this manner many poor families acquired lots; and ſecondly, by an obligation to clear eight acres of the lot in two years; and many lots were bought by ſpeculators on theſe laſt terms. The price of the lot was eighty dollars in both caſes. In the firſt, it was to be paid in ten years, with intereſt, at the rate of ſix per cent, after the firſt year; in the ſecond, it was to be paid within two years. In default of clearing eight acres within two years, the purchaſers on thoſe terms forfeited their title, and their lots were declared vacant, except in the caſe where the Indians, who were not in amity with the United States, prevented the clearing of the lands. The majority of ſpeculators who bought lots on theſe terms did not clear the lands; and three thouſand poor families

lies eſtabliſhed themſelves at different periods upon theſe lands which the law had declared vacant. The ſpeculators, availing themſelves of the war which took place with the Indians, although no incurſions were made on the lands in queſtion, at preſent aſſert their right to them, and ſue for the ejectment of the poor families who took poſſeſſion on the faith of the law. Theſe poor people have come to a reſolution to maintain the poſſeſſion by force. This is in itſelf an important circumſtance; and I ſpeak of it beſide, as a proof of the opinion I have frequently given in this journal, that the increaſe of the population in the United States renders it every day more difficult to the ſpeculators in land to preſerve their titles to the immenſe tracts they poſſeſs, without clearing and cultivating them.

THE GENERAL COMMERCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND THAT OF PHILADELPHIA IN PARTICULAR.

There is no ſtate in the union that has ſo extenſive a commerce as that of Pennſylvania. This ſtate furniſhes productions for exportation in greater abundance than any other; and its exports, moreover, part of the productions of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Jerſey, and New York. There are, however, ſome of the productions of Pennſylvania which are exported through

through Baltimore, by the Suſquehannah; but the canal that will unite the Cheſapeak and the Delaware, and which cannot fail to be compleated, will reſtore that commerce to Philadelphia, and with it a great portion of the produce of the eaſt part of Maryland.

The exportation of Philadelphia, which is the only port of this ſtate, derived from Pennſylvania and the adjoining ſtates, are—charcoal, potaſh, beer, cyder, ſalt-meat and fiſh, butter, cheeſe, Indian corn, flour made from Indian corn, wheat flour, biſcuits, tallow, candles, linſeed, linſeed oil, ſoap, potatoes, timber for building, ſtaves, hides, the ſkins of deers and beavers, bark, and pigs of iron.

Moſt of theſe articles are brought to Philadelphia, down the Delaware, or by land-carriage. There are very few brought down the Suſquehannah; for the ſettlements on its banks are very recent, and conſume nearly the whole of their produce; but when that country, and the lands lying behind it, are more generally inhabited and cultivated, that large river, freed from obſtacles which at preſent injure its navigation, will greatly increaſe the commerce of Philadelphia; and there is no doubt this important change will ſpeedily be effected.

The produce of the country, however, forms a very

a very ſmall part of the exportation of Philadelphia; which, trading with the whole world, re-exports, in immenſe quantities, the produce and merchandize of foreign countries.

The following is a table of the amount of the exports from Philadelphia, for the years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

	Dollars.
1791,—	3,436,092.
1792,—	3,820,652.
1793,—	6,958,336.
1794,—	6,643,890.
1795,—	11,518,260.
1796,—	17,549,141.

I ſcarcely think it neceſſary to repeat, that the immenſe increaſe in the value of the exportation is principally owing to the increaſed value of the articles; and to the war in Europe, which has cauſed a much greater portion of the productions of the colonies to be paſs through America, than formerly.

The difference in the value of the barrels of flour, one of the principal articles of the exportation of Philadelphia during the laſt ſix years, will ſhew how fallacious it is to judge of the quantity of the article exported by the amount of its value. The price of the barrel of ſuper-

fine

fine flour in 1790, was ſix dollars twelve-thirteenths; in 1791, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1792, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1793, ſix dollars two-thirteenths; in 1794, ſix dollars ten thirteenths; in 1795, twelve dollars; and in 1796, ten dollars. The price of the ſecond flour is two ſhillings or half a crown leſs per barrel.

It is to be obſerved, that the price of the ſuperfine flour varied in the ſame year as much as two and three dollars. I have given the medium price of the year.

Philadelphia, which in 1796 exported one hundred and ninety-five thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſeven barrels of flour, (that is to ſay, nearly the fourth part of the exportation of the whole union); exported two hundred and ninety-four thouſand and eleven barrels, in 1795; two hundred and ninety-nine thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſeven barrels, in 1794; four hundred and ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one barrels, in 1793; four hundred and thirty-three thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-eight barrels, in 1792; three hundred and fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five barrels, in 1791. Theſe were barrels of ſuperfine flour; the exportation of the ſecond flour never exceeded five thouſand barrels; in 1796, the exportation of ſecond flour amounted only to one thouſand ſeven hundred

hundred and ninety-eight barrels. I have taken theſe details from the books of the ſurveyor.

In 1765, the exportation of ſuperfine flour was one hundred and forty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-ſeven barrels; two hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourty-four barrels, in 1771; two hundred and eighty-four thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-two barrels, in 1772; two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſeven barrels, in 1773; two hundred and one thouſand three hundred and five barrels, in 1784; one hundred and ninety-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty barrels, in 1787;—from which ſtatement it will be ſeen, that the exportation of flour was not greatly increaſed during twenty-two years. The exportation of wheat has even greatly diminiſhed, owing to the number of mills erected in Pennſylvania and the neighbouring ſtates, and there has been no material increaſe of the exportation of Indian-corn or biſcuits, bringing it down even to the two laſt years.

To give a more compleat idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, I will here ſubjoin a table of the principal articles, both foreign and the produce of the country, of its exportation in 1796, and the different ports to which they were conſigned. This ſtatement is taken from the cuſtom-houſe books.

books. I would gladly have given the computed value of every article; but that would have required the examination of a multitude of entries, and more time than could be ſpared by the perſon to whom I am indebted for theſe details.

Table of the principal Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796.

Articles of Merchandize.	Quantities.	
Charcoal - - -	tons	10
Beer, cyder, and porter, in barrels - -	gallons	14,010
Ditto, in bottles -	dozens	14,545
Beef - - -	barrels	6,860
Biſcuit - -	ditto	19,568
	ſmall ditto	6,010
Butter - - -	pounds	157,470
Bricks - - -	number	109,400
Indian-corn - -	buſhels	179,094
Cheeſe - - -	pounds	243,332
Candles - - -	ditto	338,374
Flour - - -	barrels	195,157
Hams - - -	pounds	1,082,690
Pork - - -	barrels	12,029
Rye flour - -	ditto	50,614
Flour of Indian-corn -	ditto	223,064
Potatoes - - -	buſhels	9,004
Rice - - -	tierces	6,265

Linſeed

Articles of Merchandize.	Quantities.	
Linſeed oil - -	gallons	762
Train oil - - -	ditto	37,726
Spermaceti oil - -	ditto	7,782
Furs - - -	value in dollars	47,713
Tallow - - -	pounds	383,850
Snuff - - -	ditto	251,134
Tobacco - - -	hogſheads	3,437
Timber - - -	- -	2,459,616
Staves, heads of barrels, &c.	-	1,262,150
Planks - - -	- -	1,628,516
Bark - - -	value in dol.	106,969
Coffee - - -	pounds	21,002,300
Cocoa - - -	ditto	161,120
Cotton - - -	ditto	911,325
Indigo - - -	ditto	99,200
Wrought iron and ſteel	value in dollars	36,240
Sundry merchandize	ditto	2,822,800
Pepper - - -	pounds	244,552
Spice - - -	value in dol.	116,086
Spirituous liquors -	gallons	170,889
Sugar - - -	pounds	12,969,916
Salt - - -	buſhels	4,496
Bohea tea - -	pounds	2,260
Fine green tea -	ditto	3,130
Common ditto ditto -	ditto	16,210
Wine - - -	gallons	612,883
Ditto in bottles -	dozens	29,225

Names

Names of the Places to which the Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796 *were conſigned, together with the Value in Dollars of the whole Exportation for the Year to each Place.*

	Dollars.
Sweden and St. Barthelemy -	411,408
Denmark, and the Daniſh Antilles	737,287
United Provinces - - -	1,824,275
Dutch Antilles - - -	184,825
England - - - -	4,109,011
Ireland - - - - -	236,544
Engliſh Antilles - - -	760,274
Engliſh Colonies in North America	49,380
Gibraltar - - - -	33,365
Newfoundland - - -	21,505
Hamburg, Bremen, and the Hanſeatic Cities - - - -	2,981,232
France - - - - -	913,880
French Antilles - - -	3,250,584
Iſlands of France and of Bourbon	20,967
Spain - - - - -	66,974
Spaniſh Antilles - - -	916,985
Florida and Louiſiana - -	280,651
Portugal - - - -	12,892
Fayal - - - - -	14,070
Madeira - - - -	111,528
Teneriffe - - - -	861

Brought forward	16,943,498
Ports of Italy - - - -	521,964
Eaſt Indies - - - -	42,932
China - - - - -	40,747
	17,549,141

The following is a ſtatement of the duties paid at the cuſtom-houſe of Philadelphia, during five years preceding the date of the table.

1791,—	780,141 dollars.
1792,—	1,139,613 ditto.
1793,—	1,928,052 ditto.
1794,—	2,001,226 ditto.
1795,—	2,961,204 ditto.
And for the two firſt quarters of 1796,—	1,886,691 ditto.

This ſtatement will not give a perfect idea of the value of the importations, becauſe the duties vary in every ſpecies of merchandize; but when we find in the report of the ſecretary of the treaſury of the United States, that the total receipt of the duties on tonnage, and the taxes on importation and exportation, for the year 1795, amounted to five million ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand four hundred and eighteen dollars; and

and ſee that thoſe of the port of Philadelphia alone, for the ſame year, amounted to two million nine hundred and ſixty-one thouſand two hundred and four dollars, an idea may be formed of the immenſe ſhare Philadelphia has in the commerce of the United States.

The following is a ſtatement of the veſſels that arrived at, and ſailed from the port of Philadelphia, for the laſt year—1796.

Arrived at Philadelphia.		Sailed from Philadelphia.
Veſſels of three maſts	199	184
Brigs - -	436	484
Shalops - -	594	633
Sloops - -	396	382
Total	1625	1683

The number of veſſels that arrived at Philadelphia in 1795, was leſs by fifty than in 1796; but the number that ſailed from that port in 1795, was more by ſixty-ſix. This difference was owing to the capture of American veſſels by privateers from the Weſt India Iſlands.

In 1788, the veſſels that arrived at Philadelphia were no more than ſix hundred and fifty-three, of which only ninety-three were veſſels of three maſts.

The articles of importation at Philadelphia are ſpread, not only through Pennſylvania, and the ſtates which furniſh the articles of its exportation, but alſo through Kentucky, the back ſettlements of Virginia, and North Carolina, although theſe countries do not ſend any of their produce to Philadelphia. I refer my reader to what I have ſaid on this ſubject in the account of my journey through the Southern States.

Freights at Philadelphia are from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton, for moſt of the articles ſent to Europe. They are from one to two dollars higher for coffee, ſugar, and cotton. Freights to India are from twenty-two to forty-four dollars, becauſe the cargo is chiefly ſpecie; from India, they are from eighty-ſix to eighty-eight dollars. Freights to and from the Iſle of France are forty dollars. Theſe are the prices of the current year; and vary as freights are more or leſs plentiful. At preſent they are from two to three per cent higher than they were three years ſince, becauſe there has been a decreaſe in the ſhipping. I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay relative to the commerce of Philadelphia, by the following table of the rate of inſurance at that port for the years 1795, 1796, and 1797.

Rate

Rate of Insurance, in the Port of Philadelphia, for the Years 1795, 1796, *and* 1797.

	Present Rate from the 20th of July to the 1st of August 1797.	To the same Period, 1796.	To the same Period, in 1795.	Risk on the Sea, to continue after the Capture of the Vessel.	Ordinary Risk of the Sea in Time of Peace.
To Humburg, Bremen, and other neutral Ports, not being in the Baltic, or the Mediterranean; also to Holland	7½	4 to 5	4½ to 6	3½	3
English Ports in the Channel	10 to 12½	4 to 5	3½ to 4½	3	2½
Ditto western Ports, on the Route to the N. of Ireland.	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3	2½
Ports in the South-East of Ireland	10	3½ to 4	3½ to 4	3	2½
Ditto W. and N. on the route to North	7½ to 8	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3	2½
French Ports in the Atlantic	6 to 7½	3½ to 4½	5 to 6	3½	2½ to 3½
Ditto in the Mediterranean	7½ to 10	4 to 5	6 to 7½	4	3
Portuguese and Spanish Ports, in the Atlantic	7½ to 10	3½ to 5	3½ to 5	3 to 3½	½ to ¾
Isles of France and Bourbon	7½ to 10	5	5 to 6	4	3½ to 4
Cape of Good Hope	10	4 to 5	4	4	3½
Batavia	7½ to 10	5	4½ to 5	4 to 4½	3½
Canton, in China	10	5	5	5	4 to 4½
Calcutta	10 to 15	5	5	5	4 to 4½
Jamaica	15 to 20	3½ to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½	3
Other English Ports in the West-India Isles	10 to 15	3 to 4½	3 to 4	3	2½
French Ports in the West Indies	7½	4 to 5	5 to 6	3½	2½ to 3
Neutral Ports in the West Indies	5 to 6	3 to 4½	3 to 4½	to 3½	2½ to 3
Havanaah	6	4	3 to 4	1½	3
New Orleans	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½	3
Nova Scotia	6	4	4	2½	2 to 2½
Ports of the United States; according to their distance, and the difficulties of the passage	1½ to 2½	1½ to 2	1½ to 2	1½ to 2	1 to 2

Theſe rates of inſurance are for neutral veſſels, bound from Philadelphia, and conſigned only to one port. They are calculated for the voyage out merely, and are generally the ſame for the voyage home; except when the veſſel is inſured at the ſame time both going and returning, when ſome abatement is made. The rate is higher, of courſe, when the veſſel has to touch at ſeveral ports, becauſe of the additional riſk. It is higher alſo in voyages to the Baltic, and ports of the north, during winter; and, for the ſame reaſon, in voyages to the Weſt India Iſlands, from the firſt of Auguſt to the firſt of November. It is higher alſo for veſſels which would not, on a ſcrutiny, by their papers, and the nature of their cargoes, prove to be neutral.

Towards the end of 1793, and in 1794, the rate of inſurance was higher than in 1795 and 1796, becauſe American veſſels were at that time captured by the Engliſh. It was lowered by the ſubſequent treaty with England; and has again riſen, ſince the French in their turn captured American veſſels; and particularly in voyages to the Weſt Indies, becauſe captures there are frequent, and are authoriſed by the governments of the ſeveral iſlands, while it is believed that the few American veſſels captured by the French in European ſeas, are taken without the authority of the French Government.

The

The rate of inſurance is nearly the ſame in the different ports of the United States.

The building of a veſſel at Philadelphia coſts, according to its tonnage, from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton at the time ſhe is launched. The price is increaſed in proportion as there is more holm-oak or cedar put into the veſſel. The ſails and rigging of a veſſel of three hundred tons will coſt about forty dollars per ton. Theſe prices, however, have riſen thirty per cent within the laſt three years. It is univerſally acknowledged, that veſſels built at Philadelphia are better than thoſe of any other port of the United States. They are more ſound, better finiſhed, and the ornaments are handſomer; and they will laſt, upon an average, from four to five years longer than the veſſels of the north. Moſt of the large veſſels built at Philadelphia have their principal timber of holm-oak.

The quality of flour, pot-aſh, and in fact of all articles deſigned for exportation, is here more carefully attended to than at any other port. In a word, although Philadelphia is at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty miles from the ſea, and the navigation of the Delaware interrupted for one month or two months, and ſometimes more, in every year, it may be reckoned as the moſt conſiderable port of the United States. It contains

the greateſt number of wealthy merchants, and affords the moſt ready market for the ſale of productions.

As to the manner in which commerce is conducted by the merchants of Philadelphia, what I have to ſay of the general commerce of the United States will be applicable to it, and perhaps in a particular manner, becauſe the commerce of Philadelphia is on a larger ſcale, ſpeculations are more extenſive, the mode of living more extravagant, and the paſſion for acquiring ſudden wealth greater there than in any other of the American markets.

BANKS AT PHILADELPHIA.

There are three banks at Philadelphia; the firſt is the bank of the United States, which, by its conſtitution, is obliged to follow the ſeat of government. I ſhall enter into ſome detail on this bank when I come to ſpeak generally of the United States. The other two are—the bank of Pennſylvania, and that of North America.

The bank of Pennſylvania was incorporated in 1793, by a law of the ſtate. Its capital is three millions of dollars, divided into ſeven thouſand five hundred ſhares of four hundred dollars each. The ſhares were bought by individuals, or companies, the ſtate not reſerving any ſhare, or the power

power of acquiring any, except by ſubſcription in the manner of individuals. This bank receives depoſits; and diſcounts at one-half per cent per month. It cannot ſell any thing but the public funds, or effects that have fallen into its hands for advances. It cannot buy any thing but gold or ſilver in bullion; or the ſhares of its own corporation, which it muſt never buy below par, nor in a greater quantity than fifty at a time. It cannot lend to the government of the United States more than fifty thouſand dollars. No greater loan can be made but in conſequence of an expreſs law. It cannot circulate, either by its own notes, or by diſcount, or otherwiſe, more than three millions of dollars.

The law incorporating this bank, enjoins all the receipts of the ſtate to be depoſited in it. Of twenty-five directors that form its adminiſtration, ſix are nominated by the legiſlature, and the other nineteen by the proprietors of its ſtock. Eleven go out annually by rotation. A return of the general ſituation of the bank is to be made annually to the legiſlature, to be ſubmitted to its examination; but the legiſlature cannot demand an inſpection of the accounts of individuals; and the little dependence this bank has on the government, and the fidelity of its tranſactions, have placed it high in the public confidence. Its dividends

dividends are from eight to nine per cent, although a conſiderable ſurplus is prudently accumulated. Shares in this bank bear at preſent a premium of twenty-five and thirty per cent.

The bank of North America is of an older date, the act under which it was incorporated having paſſed in 1787. It was at firſt eſtabliſhed in 1782, but was diſſolved in 1784. This bank may extend its capital to two millions of dollars; and has the privilege of making laws, by a court of its own proprietors and its twelve directors, for its adminiſtration. But it is bound by the ſame rules in its ſales and purchaſes as the bank of Pennſylvania. As the legiſlature, however, has placed no other reſtriction on this bank, and it is ſtill more independent of the government than the Bank of Pennſylvania, its character is very great. It is called *The Quakers Bank*, becauſe the greater part of its original ſubſcribers were Quakers; its directors are in general of the ſame body; and it is the bank at which thoſe people generally keep their caſh. Its dividends are from ſeven to eight per cent. The price of original ſhares, which was a hundred dollars for each, bears a premium of forty-five per cent; and it is very ſeldom that a ſhare is to be ſold. In 1791, this bank lent one hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars to the ſtate of Pennſylvania, on the ſecu-

rity

rity of its public funds, and for one year only; the ſum was punctually repaid.

THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,—ITS HOSPITALS, MARKETS, &c.

Philadelphia is not only the fineſt city of the United States, but may indeed be deemed one of the moſt beautiful cities in the world. It certainly is not ornamented with noble and antique edifices, like many of the cities of Europe; nor are the public buildings, with the exception of the ſtate-houſe, remarkable either for the beauty of their architecture or their magnitude; but the houſes are all built of fine brick, and have a pleaſing appearance of ſimplicity and neatneſs. Many of them are decorated at their baſe, and round their windows, with a white marble lightly veined, which is found a few miles from the city, near the Schuylkill, and have flights of ſteps of the ſame marble. The ſtreets are wide, and are generally planted with trees, and have very commodious pavements. The fountains that ſupply the city with water are in great numbers, and indeed exceed any thing of that nature in Europe. We have nothing to regret here but the want of noble ſquares; nor any conſiderable nuiſance to complain of but the burial places, which are often in the moſt crowded parts of the city.

This

This nuiſance is indeed a very ſerious evil; and it cannot be doubted, is the cauſe of much ſickneſs in a city, where the heat of the ſummer is ſo great for three months as at Philadelphia. It has been in agitation to prohibit burial places in the city; but the matter has never been treated with the deciſion that the importance of the ſubject requires.

The narrowneſs of the quays is another cauſe of the unhealthineſs of this city, and is one which it will be more difficult to remove than the former. This defect cannot be remedied, but at the expence of an entire ſtreet extending along the river and crowded with the counting-houſes and warehouſes of the merchants. This ſtreet is not to be found in the plan traced by Penn, which was exactly followed as far as it extended. But the city is increaſed on the borders of the Delaware, both to the right and left. The buildings at firſt extended beyond the ground which he marked out between the Delaware and the Schuylkill; but the increaſe of commerce gave a new direction to buildings of late years; ſo that the city, although large, does not occupy half the ground between the two rivers, and it is not probable that it will extend farther towards the Schuylkill. The preſent population of Philadelphia amounts to ſeventy thouſand inhabitants.

I ſhall

I ſhall endeavour to avoid the repeating of circumſtances relative to this city that are known to every one. Its priſons are the only public eſtabliſhments which are ſuperior to the ſame kind in France and England; its hoſpitals, libraries, colleges, literary and philoſophical ſocieties, are inferior to thoſe of the old world, and indeed muſt long continue to be ſo; but if we conſider how few years have paſſed ſince this city was founded, and how ſtill ſhorter the ſpace of time is ſince Pennſylvania, with the other ſtates, became free, and was therefore able to employ all its reſources, we ſhall be ſurpriſed at the degree of improvement we find in Philadelphia; and it ought not to be concealed, that the diſpoſition of the inhabitants tends to facilitate the progreſs of the arts and ſciences; which, however, with every advantage, demand time to bring them to perfection. Neither ought it to be overlooked, that the Quakers are, in every part of the ſtate, the moſt ſteady and zealous promoters of every plan for the public happineſs. Their influence at Philadelphia is greater than in other parts, becauſe of their numbers. They are calculated to amount from one thouſand ſix hundred to one thouſand ſeven hundred families in that city.

The majority of the governors of the hoſpital of Pennſylvania are Quakers. The economy of this

this hoſpital is not, however, ſo perfect as we ſhould expect. The patients are too much mingled together. There are ſix of the phyſicians of Philadelphia who attend the hoſpital gratuitouſly. Two of theſe attend together, and make but two viſits in the week. They take this office by turns, two being changed every two months. There are two pupils reſiding in the houſe, who ſee the preſcriptions adminiſtered; and it is very ſeldom that any of the ſick have the aid of the phyſicians, except on the viſiting days. I ſpeak of poor patients, who are admitted gratis; for the funds of this hoſpital are ſo ſmall, that many of the patients are obliged to pay the phyſician, and theſe the phyſicians viſit when ſent for.

In 1775, the hoſpital received ſeventy patients gratis; but, although its revenues are not diminiſhed ſince that period, the increaſe of the price of proviſions, and of the wages of the perſons employed in the hoſpital, is ſo great, that at preſent it can take no more than thirty patients gratis. The reſt, to the number of ſixty-one, pay to be admitted in the following proportions — from three to four dollars per week for a place in the common room; ſix dollars for a room with more than one bed; and eight dollars for a room apart from others; the two laſt claſſes moreover pay the phyſician.

Inſane

Inſane perſons are taken into this hoſpital. They were formerly kept in apartments under ground; but at preſent they are in a new building, which is ſpacious and airy. The degree of liberty they are allowed, and the cleanlineſs of their apartments, daily increaſes the number of thoſe who leave the hoſpital cured. The economy of this part of the hoſpital is indeed admirable; two years ſince it was a ſubject of diſguſt.

Dr. RUSH, one of the phyſicians of whom I made inquiries concerning the cauſes which brought patients of this kind to the hoſpital, attributed one half to the exceſſive drinking of ſpiritous liquors; a fourth to devotion; and a ſmaller portion to love. It is to be ſuppoſed that theſe obſervations were accurate, as they were made from an examination of the books of the hoſpital. That part which concerns the exceſſive drinking of ſpiritous liquors is confirmed by daily experience. It is a common caſe, for a man, after ſuch an exceſs, to be ſeveral days ſucceſſively in a ſtate of inſanity; which very rarely happens from exceſſive drinking of wine. The madneſs occaſioned by religion is moſt frequent amongſt ſects whoſe dogmas are extravagant, and who affect their diſciples more with terror than with hope. The derangement proceeding from love is more frequent with the women than the men;

men; and the patients of that claſs are chiefly girls betrayed or deſerted by their lovers. The number of inſane patients, the laſt time I viſited the hoſpital, was forty-five.

Dr. Ruſh is one of the moſt celebrated phyſicians in Philadelphia. He is reproached with an extreme partiality for bleeding; and it is certain that he is by no means ſparing of the practice. He is alſo accuſed of being wedded to ſyſtem; but this reproach is more likely to proceed from the envy common in Philadelphia, as in other places, than any other cauſe. Dr. Ruſh has certainly more practice than any other phyſician in Philadelphia; he is a man of talent, and one of the beſt informed men in America. Both his writings and actions prove that he has the welfare of the human race at heart. His zeal and courage during the prevalence of the yellow fever, were not to be ſubdued by danger or difficulty. In 1792, he nearly fell a victim to that terrible ſcourge. A work which he wrote on that diſeaſe met with many opponents, eſpecially among perſons of his own profeſſion. Dr. Ruſh publiſhed a letter in 1790, recommending the ſuppreſſing of the puniſhment of death; and the happy reſult of the change in that reſpect in the criminal code of Pennſylvania, is ſufficient proof of the wiſdom of his

his ſpeculation. There are other political papers of Dr. Ruſh, abounding with beneficent and valuable ſentiments.

The alms-houſe is as little to be commended for the nature of its management as the hoſpital. Its economy is not influenced by thoſe extenſive views, which in a great ſtate ought to have a principal ſhare in the aid given to the poor.

The principal market of Philadelphia excites the attention of every foreigner. It is a long building, conſtructed of brick, and ſupported by pillars of brick. The alleys are paved. It ſtands in the large ſtreet which ſeparates the north and ſouth quarter of the city. Here are to be found all ſorts of proviſions; butcher-meat, poultry, vegetables, &c.—flowers, roots, and trees are alſo ſold in this market. As proviſions are ſold no where but in this, and three or four markets in other parts of the city, this market is greatly crowded for three or four hours in the morning; but although the paſſages ſometimes are almoſt choked up with people, the noiſe is very inconſiderable. Every one makes his market with little or no diſpute; proviſions are ſo abundant, and the venders ſo numerous, that the purchaſer who is diſſatisfied has but a ſtep or two to make to conſult his caprice, or to endeavour to make a better bargain. The prodigious quantity of pro-

viſions of all ſorts in this market begets no offenſive ſmell; the tables are ſcraped and waſhed every day, and the paſſages are kept thoroughly clean. One is at firſt aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch perfect cleanlineſs, where there are ſo many almoſt unavoidable cauſes of filth.

A great quantity of the proviſions ſold at Philadelphia is brought ſixty miles; it is conveyed in covered waggons that arrive in the night. The horſes are unharneſſed, and ſtand round the carts, with hay before them, which the farmer always brings with him, to ſave expences at the inns. Sometimes there are more than a hundred of theſe waggons ſtanding at the upper part of the ſtreet in which the great market is ſituated. Sometimes the farmers retail their proviſions themſelves, from their carts, which bring veal, pork, poultry, game, butter, and cheeſe, as well as articles of agriculture, and even the products of induſtry.

Jerſey furniſhes the markets of Philadelphia with many articles, particularly hams, poultry, butter, and vegetables. It is a pleaſing object, to ſee the perfect order that prevails in the markets; and it is worthy of regard, that the whole proceeds from the diſpoſition of the people, for the public police never has occaſion to interfere in theſe places. I am compelled to own, however,

that

that having paſſed three winters in Philadelphia, I have perceived a gradual change taking place in this reſpect, and alſo in the tranquillity that formerly reigned at night in the ſtreets. In 1794, it was uncommon to encounter any body at night, and ſtill more to hear any noiſe after eleven o'clock. The noiſe in the ſtreets continues now till a much later hour. Philadelphia is, in deed, departing very widely from ſimplicity of manners.

This city, being at a great diſtance from the ſea, is ill provided with fiſh. *Rock fiſh*, which is a long fiſh with very white fleſh, and does not reſemble any fiſh of Europe that I know, is the only one that is to be found throughout the year at Philadelphia. The epicures, however, cauſe a variety of fiſh to be brought from New York.

The rent of the ſhops in the market-place is one of the revenues of the city, and produces about eight thouſand dollars. The other revenues of the city are—a tax upon taverns, a tax upon quays, and a tax on property of the ſame kind as that laid in the counties.

The amount of theſe taxes varies with circumſtances; the principal ſource of their increaſe is the conſtruction of public buildings. The taxes of the city of Philadelphia in 1790, amounted to ſixteen thouſand eight hundred dollars;

lars; in 1793, to twenty thouſand three hundred and thirty-two dollars; in 1794, to twenty-nine thouſand five hundred dollars; in 1795, to twenty-eight thouſand ſix hundred dollars. They were leſs in 1796 and in 1797; but I do not know the exact amount of theſe years.

Some judgment may be formed of the immenſe increaſe of wealth in Philadelphia by the rapid increaſe of the computed value of articles ſubject to taxation. In 1790, it amounted to ninety-eight million ſix hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand and ſixty dollars; and in 1795, to one hundred million five hundred and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen dollars. In 1797, it exceeded that computation by more than two millions of dollars;—the computation being throughout made upon the ſame principles. The quantity of articles ſubject to taxation increaſing rapidly in this city, as it alſo does throughout the whole ſtate, and the expences of the city continually decreaſing, becauſe they have been heretofore greatly augmented by the conſtruction of public edifices, bridges, &c. the impoſts, already low, muſt neceſſarily decreaſe.

There is no city of the United States where articles of conſumption are to be found in ſuch great abundance as at Philadelphia, even to almoſt all articles of luxury. Many ſhops are as well

furniſhed

furniſhed as thoſe of Paris or London. The tradeſmen are polite and obliging; and not at all preſſing for their money, when they are aſſured of the ſolvency of their cuſtomers, at leaſt I have found it ſo. The workmen are expert; but, as they can earn a great deal, they do not labour with the ſame conſtancy as workmen in Europe, and frequently make a purchaſer wait long for the execution of an order. Every thing in America, more particularly at Philadelphia, is much dearer than in Europe. A workman, hired by the day, receives a dollar per day, beſides his board; the wages of ordinary domeſtics, who are for the moſt part negroes, are from ten to twelve dollars per month, beſides board and waſhing. A female ſervant, of the moſt ordinary kind, has a dollar per week. Board is from eight to twelve dollars per week, without wine, fire, or candles. The rent of the ſmalleſt houſe, in a remote part of the city, is three hundred dollars per annum; the rent of large houſes, in good ſituations, is from two thouſand five hundred to three thouſand dollars. Beef coſts from ten to thirteen pence per pound; and a couple of fowls often more than a dollar. Other things are in the ſame proportion. The value of the ground in Philadelphia differs according to its ſituation; it is ſold by the feet in front, according to its depth.

A piece of ground of one hundred and fifty feet depth, in the moſt frequented part of the city, brings from one hundred and eighty dollars to two hundred and ſixty per foot. At the end of ſtreets not compleated, they aſk only from twenty-four to thirty dollars per foot; and between theſe extreme ſituations the medium price is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty dollars.

Of the lands in the vicinity of Philadelphia, thoſe in the plain are ſandy and ſteril, the hills near the Schuylkill are ſandy and full of ſtones, although a little ſtronger. But the badneſs of the lands does not prevent their ſelling for a high price, as they are almoſt entirely engroſſed for country houſes by the wealthy inhabitants of the city. Their price is from one hundred and fifty to one thouſand two hundred dollars per acre, including the buildings, according to their ſituation and other circumſtances. To the ſouth of the city the land, lying between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, having been formerly covered with water, is a fine ſoil from twenty to twenty-five feet in depth, but always very wet. It produces a natural graſs of the beſt quality in great abundance, being enriched by the mud left from the overflowing of the rivers; and might be greatly improved by being drained, but this is not done

for

for the want of hands. It is ſeldom that eſtates are to be ſold in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the proprietors being tempted to keep them in their hands by their conſtant encreaſe in value; and they are very rarely let to tenants for more than a year or two years. The graſs-lands are generally uſed to fatten oxen; their rent is from twenty-four to twenty-eight dollars per acre. Lands that bear Indian corn, grain, and potatoes, are let at the ſame price.

MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is univerſally accuſed of poſſeſſing leſs hoſpitality than any other city in the United States; and it may be allowed to deſerve this reproach. The excuſe of the inhabitants is, the great concourſe there is always here of ſtrangers, who would too greatly occupy the time of their hoſts if too much encouragement were given to viſits. The true reaſon is, the inceſſant attention that is paid in Philadelphia, more than in any other part of the world, to the accumulation of wealth; which paſſion is not diminiſhed even by the poſſeſſion of the greateſt fortune. To mend his circumſtances is the predominant idea of every man in this country. This mercantile notion, of neceſſity, confines within himſelf the man whom it influences; and gives him

no time nor taſte for the pleaſures of ſociety. What is juſtly called *ſociety* does not exiſt in this city. The vanity of wealth is common enough. The rich man loves to ſhew the ſtranger his ſplendid furniture, his fine Engliſh glaſs, and exquiſite china. But when the ſtranger has once viewed the parade in a ceremonious dinner, he is diſmiſſed for ſome other new-comer, who has not yet ſeen the magnificence of the houſe nor taſted the old Madeira that has been twice or thrice to the Eaſt Indies. And then, a new face is always more welcome than an old one to him who has little to ſay to either.

The real ſtate of ſociety at Philadelphia is included in invitations to great dinners, and tea, to all who arrive from Europe—Engliſh, French, inhabitants of every country, men of every claſs and of every kind of character, philoſophers, prieſts, literati, princes, dentiſts, wits, and idiots. And the next day the idolized ſtranger is not known in the ſtreet, except he be wealthy, eſpecially in money; when, indeed, the politeneſs of the citizens of Philadelphia continues to exiſt as long as the ſtranger can purchaſe eſtates, and even beyond that term, for the homage paid to wealth is a worſhip in which all ſects unite.

To the ordinary defects of ſociety in Philadelphia, is to be added the intemperance of politics.

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The Engliſh influence prevails in the firſt circles; and prevails with great intolerance.

Perſons of wealth here, who careſſed the agents of Robeſpierre, when that monſter extirpated all the worth his power could reach, are the avowed enemies of France, now that her government inclines to mildneſs and humanity. It is not to be denied that the American commerce has ſuffered greatly from French privateers; and we cannot therefore be ſurprized, either at the ill humour of the merchants of Philadelphia, or their mode of expreſſing it.

Having given this ſketch of the temper of the people of Philadelphia, I am compelled to ſay, however correct it may be, that many families are to be found who form exceptions, and are neither tainted with the general vices of this place, nor inflamed with the preſent ſpirit of party. What I have ſaid is without ill will. I have no perſonal complaint to make. But I ſpeak without reſerve: for why ſhould I write, if it were not to communicate truth?

Before all thoſe to whom I feel myſelf indebted for their kindneſs, I have to place the family of CHEW. BENJAMIN CHEW, the head of this reſpectable family, who is a man in years, unites to an underſtanding, naturally penetrating and lively, great information, an amiable temper, a noble

noble generoſity, and the ſimpleſt of manners. His large family is univerſally eſteemed; and in no quarter of the world is there any one more eſtimable. I was received by him as a brother; and my heart is filled with ſentiments of eſteem, gratitude, and love for him, that will go with me to the grave; and I hope he will pardon my expreſſion of thoſe ſentiments in this place.

To name every one from whom I have received offices of kindneſs would be to treſpaſs too much on my reader; and I muſt be ſatisfied with indulging myſelf with a remembrance of their friendſhip.

Notwithſtanding the defective ſtate of ſociety in Philadelphia, this city is perhaps the moſt agreeable of the United States for a foreigner. The reſidence of the members of Congreſs will enable him to gather information on the different parts of this intereſting country; and, in fact, to travel through its different ſtates with great advantage to his enquiries. Although in Philadelphia, as throughout America, no one is ſufficiently free from employment to give himſelf wholly to letters or the ſciences, this city contains, more than any other, perſons who cultivate them, and whoſe ſociety is extremely intereſting when thoſe ſubjects are diſcuſſed. There is a philoſophical ſociety here, and a large and valuable

able library. There is alſo a muſeum which has an almoſt complete collection of the minerals and animals of North America. This fine collection is the property of Mr. PEALE. His intelligence, and indefatigable induſtry for twenty years in the forming this collection, have ſupplied the want of means that a more ample fortune would have readily furniſhed, and entitle him to aid in his undertaking from the government.

The profuſion and luxury of Philadelphia, on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages, and the dreſſes of their wives and daughters, are, as I have obſerved, extreme. I have ſeen balls on the Preſident's birth-day where the ſplendor of the rooms, and the variety and richneſs of the dreſſes did not ſuffer in compariſon with Europe; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in the compariſon. The young women of Philadelphia are accompliſhed in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the eaſe and faſhion of French women; but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely ſuperior. Even when they grow old they are ſtill handſome; and it would be no exaggeration to ſay, in the numerous aſſemblies of Philadelphia it is impoſſible to meet with what is called

called a plain woman. As to the young men, they for the moſt part ſeem to belong to another ſpecies.

Wealth makes all the diſtinction of claſſes in Philadelphia. The great merchants, and the lawyers who are at the head of their profeſſion, hold the firſt rank. Different claſſes very rarely mingle together. The Quakers live among themſelves, and in a retired manner. But gay colours pleaſe the young Quaker-ladies; and are indeed great enemies of the ſect. The toilette is the ſubject of much uneaſineſs to the old people, whether prohibited or tolerated by them. But whether prohibited or not, the young and handſome Quaker-girls will ſacrifice to the toilette, and call themſelves *Half-quakers*; and, it muſt be confeſſed, they are the greateſt favourites with our ſex. The young men among the Quakers, who would make themſelves agreeable to the *female deſerters*, powder and ſhape their dreſs accordingly; and the ſect is continually loſing ſome of thoſe that ſhould be its pillars by the effect of a ribband or gown.

Profuſion is not confined to the higher ranks. It ſpreads among the ſervants; and even reaches the negroes. Both one and the other give their balls, which are deſtitute of the charming ſimplicity of the fetes of our peaſants. Variety of refreſh-

refreſhments, good ſuppers, and fine dreſſes, diſtinguiſh them. A female negro ſervant, whoſe wages are one dollar per week, will, at theſe balls, have a dreſs that coſts ſixty dollars. They never go but in coaches to theſe balls, which are very frequent. On Sundays the public-houſes in the environs of the city are crouded with labourers and little ſhopkeepers, who frequently come in a chair, with their whole family, and will expend from three to four dollars for the day's entertainment. It is not to hoard that the Americans are rapacious; their improvidence has ſtill all the character of coloniſts.

There is a theatre at Philadelphia, in deſpight of the many and vehement petitions preſented againſt it by the Quakers and diſſenting miniſters. It is generally crouded; not that the actors are good, but it is a place where people can aſſemble and exhibit themſelves. There are from twenty to twenty-five ſtage-coaches, that either go from or arrive at Philadelphia every day. They are mean and incommodious carriages; but are light, and travel very quickly. The horſes are good in Pennſylvania; and there are ſets belonging to ſome of the ſtage-coaches that are not ſurpaſſed by any in Europe.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, like thoſe of the whole State of Pennſylvania, are a mixture of

of all the nations of Europe. The Engliſh are in the greateſt number. The counties of Pennſylvania, beyond the Suſquehannah, and at a greater diſtance from Philadelphia than the reſt, are little influenced by the political opinions of the capital, which, as I have ſaid, are in favor of England.

There are a great many newſpapers publiſhed in Philadelphia; whence they are ſpread through all the ſtate.

Twenty-eight places of worſhip hold the different ſects of Philadelphia. The Quakers have ſix. One of theſe belongs to the *Free-quakers*; a body expelled from the reſt, for having carried arms, and accepted offices under the government of the State, or that of the Union, during the ſtruggle for Independence. This body does not differ from the ſect, except in a relaxation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. There is a place of worſhip called the African Church, ſet apart for the negroes; who go, notwithſtanding, to the other churches at their pleaſure. The clergyman of the African church is himſelf a negroe. He is joined to the clergy on all occaſions where they aſſemble in a body.

The Quakers have eſtabliſhed here two charity ſchools for the negroes, where they are taught to read, write, and caſt accounts. But among the

wiſe

wiſe and beneficent laws of the State of Pennſylvania, one ſees with pain that no proviſion is yet made for the erecting of ſchools for the education of children at the public expence, like thoſe of New England. The legiſlature, indeed, is engaged on a plan of this nature. The Quakers, it is ſaid, oppoſe theſe foundations, becauſe they have ſchools of their own, being unwilling to mingle their children with the children of other perſuaſions; and becauſe they would either be compelled to abandon this policy or maintain their own ſchools at an excluſive expence, while they would pay a general tax to thoſe of the public. I cannot ſuppoſe this oppoſition to be real; or, if ſo, that it can continue long. The ſtate that feels the importance of public ſchools will, in the end, gain the victory; and, no doubt, the Quakers themſelves will not be backward in acknowledging the injuſtice and miſchievous effects of their pretenſions.

I cannot conclude what I have to ſay of Philadelphia without obſerving, that here, and almoſt in every other part of America through which I have paſſed, I have frequently heard the name of M. de la ROCHEFOUCAULT pronounced, with a profound veneration for his memory, and ſincere ſorrow for his fate. Although he never viſited the United States, he was known

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as a Frenchman who ſhewed the ſtrongeſt attachment to their independence. They named him their *friend*; and my connection with him by blood procured me in more than one family the kindeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed reception.

Having no other paſſion than that of doing good, and poſſeſſing at once the private virtues, as well as thoſe that fit us to ſerve the public, he had a modeſty, approaching to a diffidence of himſelf, that increaſed the luſtre of all his great qualities. His mind was noble, and independent; and he worſhipped liberty long before her name was openly pronounced in France. Without mixture in his views, as without ſtain in his conduct, he is perhaps the only example of an eminent man in the French Revolution whoſe character calumny did not impeach. Yet was this man murdered!—murdered in the preſence of the tendereſt of mothers, and the moſt amiable of wives; by wretches calling themſelves patriots, hired by monſters more deteſtable than thoſe, and who alſo called themſelves patriots! France ſhuddered at this crime, when it was committed; and, even in thoſe fatal times, when terror compelled men to belie their conſciences, no one was found to ſay, that his death was not a public misfortune. I have no doubt, when the repreſentatives of the French nation ſhall be at liberty

liberty to decree the homage of public regret to the memory of juſt citizens that intrigue and cruelty ſnatched from their country, the name of M. de la Rochefoucault will be among the firſt that will be heard. Such a decree will do honour to the French nation; and I ſhall be pardoned, I hope, for pouring forth my ſoul on this ſubject. To be proud of my near connection, by blood, and by the ties of an intimate friendſhip, with one of the moſt virtuous men of the age, will not give offence to thoſe who know what it is to love virtue.

JOURNEY
TO
BETHLEHEM, AND IN THE JERSEYS,
IN JUNE 1797.

THE ROAD TO GERMANTOWN.

I Once more quitted Philadelphia with pleaſure, the oppreſſive and burning heat rendering that city diſagreeable at this ſeaſon; and as the ſittings of Congreſs, which had induced me to remain there till now, preſented nothing to ſatisfy curioſity, I proceeded towards Bethlehem.

On leaving the city, I went a little out of the way to take leave of my friend Mr. NICKLEN, a good and worthy Engliſhman, from whom I had, during my ſtay in America, received many teſtimonies of attention, and who had married one of the daughters of the reſpectable family of CHEW. He occupies, during the ſummer, one of the handſomeſt country-ſeats in the environs of Philadelphia, built on one of the hills of Schuylkill. This villa, which is called Hill, enjoys one

of

of the moſt delightful proſpects in the world. Mr. Nicklin purchaſed this houſe, and nineteen acres of ground attached to it, at the price of twenty-two thouſand dollars, which price may give an idea of the value of ſuch ſeats in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The road to Germantown is upon the aſcent, the ſummit of the hill on which that little town is built being two hundred feet higher than the bed of the Delaware, although the diſtance is only ſeven miles. The lands, though not of the firſt quality, are ſufficiently productive; the vicinity to Philadelphia making it eaſy to get manure, while the high price of proviſions in that city encourages the farmer to lay out ſuch expences as may inſure the beſt and moſt abundant returns.

All the way to Germantown the houſes are very cloſe together, the properties being ſo valuable as to prevent them from being very extenſive: there are few of the farms which exceed two hundred acres. Stone abounds in this diſtrict, and is found at a very ſmall depth; it is uniformly micacious free ſtone. Of this all the houſes are built. Theſe buildings would not be reckoned handſome in Europe. They are good ſmall houſes, without elegance and without ornament; but in point of ſize, as well as diſtribution of the apartments, they afford their pro-

prietors every thing that comes under the denomination of convenience and comfort. Moſt of them are country houſes for the relaxation of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.

GERMANTOWN.

Germantown is a long village, near two miles and an half in extent. The houſes, to the number of about three hundred, are all built on the ſide of the highway, and are erected pretty cloſe to each other. The lands in all this diſtrict coſt from an hundred and ſixty to two hundred dollars the acre in whole farms; ſome particular acres, ſituated on the road ſide, ſell for from four to five hundred dollars. I was even told that it is not eaſy to procure it at that price; and I was ſhewn a field of a dozen of acres, the proprietor of which eſtimates it at eight hundred dollars the acre. The culture of this part of the country is better attended to, than in thoſe parts which are at a diſtance from large towns; but it is far from being in that ſtate of cultivation which it would be in Europe, near ſo good a market as that of Philadelphia. They raiſe a good deal of wheat, and ſtill more Indian-corn, but very little rye or oats. All the produce which is not conſumed in the farmer's family, is carried to the market at Philadelphia, in conſequence of which proviſions

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are as dear at Germantown as in the city, to thoſe who are obliged to purchaſe them. Nay, they are often even dearer; as the farmers who go to Philadelphia, where they are ſure of getting quit of all their commodities, frequently refuſe to ſell any part of them on the road. Beef, for example, which is ſeldom higher at Philadelphia than eleven pence, coſts fifteen pence at Germantown. All this country, and for a conſiderable way farther, is inhabited principally by Germans, and deſcendants of Germans. The inhabitants are by no means intelligent, and they are particularly averſe to leave their old cuſtoms for a new method which might be better; but they are induſtrious, and their aſſiduity to labour counteracts, in ſome meaſure, their repugnance to all improvement.

They manufacture in their families at Germantown a great quantity of wollen, cotton, and thread ſtockings, which the farmers carry to market at Philadelphia with their proviſions, and which are reckoned very durable. There are alſo ſome tan-works at Germantown. We find here a Lutheran and a Preſbyterian church, beſides a third for the Quakers; an academy, and two other ſchools of conſiderable repute.

I ſtopped at the houſe of my excellent and reſpected friend Mr. Chew. This houſe is cele-

brated as an important ſcene of action in the battle of Germantown in 1777. Two hundred Engliſh of the advance-guard of the army, repulſed by the Americans, were incloſed in this place; and reſiſted the efforts of General Waſhington, who endeavoured to get the better of them with the aſſiſtence of his artillery, and who, after the loſs of four or five hundred men killed or wounded, was obliged to retreat, not being able to follow up the advantage which his right had obtained, in penetrating to the middle of this village. General Waſhington was blamed at the time for perſiſting ſo much in carrying this houſe, which did not contain ſuch a number of Engliſh as could at all have diſconcerted him had he left it behind, and which would have fallen into his hands without a blow, had he joined the troops with which he made this unſucceſsful attack to thoſe who were before him, and ſucceeded in driving the enemy out of the village. This houſe, entirely built of the country ſtone, bears on its walls marks of the American cannon balls and muſket bullets, a great number of which had penetrated into the chambers by the windows. Theſe bullets and balls are ſtill ſticking in the partitions, the holes which contain them being only covered with plaſter. Mr. Chew was as at that time proprietor of this houſe, which

which was built by him. He ſold it in 1779, with forty acres of land belonging to it, for about nine thouſand dollars, and laſt ſpring he repurchaſed it, at the price of twenty-five thouſand dollars, without any improvement having been made on it. Labourers receive, in the environs of Germantown, a dollar a day of wages, during hay-making and harveſt. The women employed to turn the hay are paid half a dollar a day, all beſides their diet, which is equal to half a dollar more. This diet conſiſts of coffee or chocolate, with ham to breakfaſt; freſh meat and vegetables to dinner; tea and ham for ſupper, and a pint of rum during the day. This is the manner in which labourers are fed in America; and if this diet appear expenſive to thoſe who employ them, if this expence prevent them from being able to employ a great number, it is gratifying to ſee how well a claſs of men, reckoned the loweſt in Europe, is treated in this country, the only one where a man, whatever be his profeſſion, is treated with reſpect; where all ranks are conſidered as men. We may be told, that were our European labourers fed with coffee and freſh meat, they would not work better, or be better content. It is, in the firſt place, not true, that they would not work better and be more happy, if they were better fed; and it is ſtill more cer-

tain, that were they treated with more reſpect, and more attention, they would conſider themſelves leſs debaſed, they would become better, they would feel with pride that they were a more noble branch of ſociety, and conſequently would be more intereſted in its preſervation. Let us hope that the French revolution may, in this reſpect, operate a happy change in the lot of the laborious claſs of mankind. Without this, liberty would be only a word without meaning, a pretext for diſorder.

A cord of oak wood coſts ſix, and a cord of hickory from eight to ten dollars, at Germantown. Thus the lands covered with wood, which in the more diſtant parts are of much leſs value than other grounds, are here the moſt valuable. The wood from hence is carried to Philadelphia principally in the winter time; the river not being navigable, it could not be conveyed by it.

ROAD TO CLEMENT'S TAVERN.—SPRINGHOUSE.

Germantown is in the county of Philadelphia, which the Bethlehem road does not get out of till five or ſix miles farther on, at Cheſnut-hill, a pretty village, where there are eſtabliſhed a number of butchers, who carry to the market at Philadelphia the beef which they kill, and alſo

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ſupply the neighbourhood. A little beyond Cheſnut-hill we enter Montgomery county. The road, all the way to Clement's Tavern, is a ſucceſſion of little hills and valleys, more or leſs extenſive, all in a good ſtate of cultivation. The lands at Springhouſe are worth from forty to forty-five dollars the acre; the labourers receive here one or two ſhillings leſs than at Germantown. The country abounds in oak; and the great conſumption of wood in lime-kilns keeps always up the price of a cord of oak to three dollars, and of hickory to five, although the lands under culture are here leſs in proportion to the wood-lands than near Philadelphia. Springhouſe is diſtant from thence eighteen miles.

Stone becoming leſs abundant, and every where deeper in the earth, after leaving Springhouſe, houſes of ſtone are leſs numerous, and thoſe of wood conſequently more common. The country to Clement's Tavern continues to be of the ſame deſcription. This tavern, ſeven miles from Springhouſe, is ſituated exactly on the boundaries of Montgomery and Buck's counties. The lands here ſell for from thirty-two to ſixty dollars the acre. Labourers' wages are the ſame as at Springhouſe. Farm horſes coſt from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars; cattle eighty dollars the pair; cows thirty dollars. As there

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is no oak in this neighbourhood, although the woods are ſtill more numerous than at Springhouſe, the cord of hickory coſts here only four dollars. The country is all along peopled in a great meaſure with German and Dutch families. CLEMENTS is of Dutch deſcent. His grandfather, who was a rich merchant, engaged in the Eaſt India trade, came to America in 1707. The loſs of ſeveral veſſels having ruined his fortune, he collected the wreck of it to carry to Pennſylvania. His grandſon, the tavern-keeper, is one of the beſt men I have met with. He ſhews, with a kind of ſatisfaction, an old andiron, which his grandfather brought from Holland, and which, a hundred years before that time, had made part of the furniture of his father's houſe. Clements ſees in this old piece of furniture, which is diſplayed in his kitchen, a family monument, which makes him trace two hundred years of his genealogy, and in dilating upon that he exhibits a conſiderable fire, quite the reverſe of his amiable ſimplicity.

QUAKERSTOWN, AND THE ROAD TO BETHLEHEM.

The country becomes more mountainous as we proceed on from Clement's houſe; the valleys conſequently are extenſive, and we find no longer granite but free-ſtone, at leaſt in the courſe of twenty

twenty miles. The country is moſtly covered with wood, although in ſeveral places the houſes are pretty cloſe, and the lands well cultivated.

Quakerſtown is a ſmall village, the chief place of a ſettlement of Quakers ſpread through the townſhips of Upper and Lower Milford. Theſe townſhips were given to the Quakers about eighty years ago by William Penn. All the inhabitants, however, are not Quakers; ſeveral of the families which were firſt ſettled having quitted it, and been ſucceeded by others. The number of theſe at preſent is about three hundred; and a number of other families alſo people the two townſhips, which are inhabited and well cultivated.

If one may judge by the converſation of the Quaker who keeps the tavern where I ſtopped, the religion of that ſect is the article which leaſt occupies the Quakers eſtabliſhed in this townſhip. Their farm is the conſtant object of their thought.

They are ſaid to be very good farmers. They lay out the greateſt part of their grounds in meadow, and they carry their butter, cheeſe, calves, poultry, and the articles manufactured in their families, ſuch as ſtockings, linen, &c. to Philadelphia, near forty miles diſtant. The frequency of their journies to Philadelphia is regulated by

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the extent of their farms, and the conſequent quantity of their proviſions.

Some of them go only once a fortnight, others every ten days; others, again, once a week; and there is one individual who goes every market-day, that is twice a week. The quantity of proviſions they carry alſo determines the manner of carriage, namely, whether on horſeback, in a cart with two horſes, or in a waggon with four horſes. They ſet out on the evening, to reach Philadelphia by break of day, and return when they have ſold all their goods; which they never fail to do, even if they are obliged to lower their price as the day advances. Their horſes ſtand unyoked near the carts all the market time, the oats with which they feed them being brought from the farm with the proviſions. This is the practice of all the farmers from Germantown to Quakerſtown, and conſiderably farther. They reckon that one cow yields five pounds of butter a week, that is to ſay, to carry to market; for they only ſell what is over the conſumption of their own families, and none of them deny themſelves either butter, milk, cream, or fowls. I met on the road ſome girls of eighteen on horſeback, travelling to Philadelphia, and carrying forty pounds weight of butter, with ſome cheeſe and poultry. Some of them travel alone; and their youth and beauty,

beauty, for the greater part of them are very pretty, gives them no diſturbance in a journey ſo long, ſo often repeated, and the greateſt part of which is made in the night-time: no perſon thinks of injuring them. This particular of American morals is truly admirable.

The lands about Quakerſtown are worth from thirty-two to ſixty dollars; the wages of the labourers the ſame as at Clement's Tavern. The culture of grain is here the ſame as elſewhere in America, a good deal of maize, corn, and rye; but the lands are either not at all or very badly manured: the dung is laid upon the graſs grounds. From Quakerſtown to Bethlehem the country is ſtill more mountainous; we meet however frequently with extremely fertile valleys. Moſt of the houſes are built of ſtone; a good many of them, however, are conſtructed of ſquare beams of wood, and the interſtices filled up with ſtone. The barns are large, and moſtly of wood.

All this country, from Philadelphia to within a mile of Wilkſbarre, formed part of the firſt purchaſe made from the Indians by William Penn, and has been long cultivated and inhabited. We ſee here few of thoſe trunks of trees which remain often under foot ſo long after the commencement of the operation of grubbing, and the

the country is almoſt throughout as much cleared of wood as the generality of Europe.

The mountains known under the name of the *Lehigh Mountains*, are, properly ſpeaking, the firſt chain which we meet from Philadelphia, the preceding ones being rather detached hills than mountains. This chain, which croſſes the Suſquehannah near Harriſburg, loſes its name at the Delaware near Eaſton, and continues through Jerſey under another name. On the other ſide of that mountain ſtands Bethlehem, built on the conflux of the river Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware near Eaſton, and of the creek Manokiſy, which falls immediately at Bethlehem into the river Lehigh.

BETHLEHEM.—DETAILS RESPECTING THE MORAVIANS.

Bethlehem is inhabited by the Moravian brethren. It is the firſt and moſt conſiderable of their ſettlements in America, and has thence acquired much celebrity. 'I have read in books of travels ſo many different recitals reſpecting the internal government of their ſociety, their community of goods, their children being even taken away from the authority and ſuperintendance of their parents, as belonging to the ſociety at large, and

and reſpecting ſeveral other points of their government, that I was deſirous to judge myſelf of the truth of theſe aſſertions; and I have found at Bethlehem freſh reaſon not to credit, without proof, the recitals of travellers. This indiſputable truth is, however, rather delicate, to be avowed by one who is writing travels.

I ſhall not go back to the origin of the Moravians, which their hiſtorians fix at the year 1424; to their perſecution in Europe; to the almoſt total diſſolution of their ſociety at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century; nor to their reunion in 1722, under the auſpices of Count ZINZENDORFF. I ſhall ſay nothing of their doctrines; all theſe facts are unconnected with their temporal government at Bethlehem, which is the only point I wiſhed to know, and which I think is at this time intereſting.

In 1740, the Count Zinzendorff purchaſed from Mr. ALLAN, who held it of Willam Penn, the diſtrict now called Bethlehem, with the view of there forming an eſtabliſhment for the ſociety of the Moravians. Although ſome trees were cut down in 1741, it was not till 1742 that the ſettlement was begun. One hundred and forty Moravian brethren and ſiſters arrived from Germany, and ſettled there. Theſe families were poor, had no other dependence than their labour, and

and every thing was to be done to form a ſettlement in this deſert. They lived then in one general community, contrary to the rules and uſage of their ſociety, but only from the neceſſity of circumſtances, which would have rendered the general progreſs of their ſociety more ſlow, and the ſituation of the individual families more inconvenient, if their labours and productions had been divided. This deviation from the conſtitution of the *Unity* (for thus they call their whole ſociety) was preſcribed by the ſynod, which makes and alters the laws of all the Moravian people. Thus, under the order of the chiefs of the congregation eſtabliſhed at Bethlehem, they cleared the woods, made roads, and cultivated the lands; the women ſpan, wove, made their cloaths, and prepared their victuals. One ſingle will animated the whole, and the product of each individual's labour ſerved indiſcriminately to the ſupport of the whole brother and ſiſterhood. The fathers and mothers being conſtantly employed in labour, could not, without inconvenience to the community, give their attentions to their children. The ſociety therefore appointed ſome of the ſiſters to take care of the whole; the authority, however, and the ſuperintendance of the parents, was neither taken away nor diminiſhed. At that time even, notwithſtanding their community of goods,

goods, the brethren who received any money from their families or friends had the free diſpoſal of it. If any of them veſted their property in the common ſtock it was voluntarily, and the effect of a zeal and diſintereſtedneſs of which there were but few examples. The brethren poſſeſſed of any private property, had frequently their children with them; they clothed them better; and the care which they took of them in infancy, a charge conſidered a relief to the ſociety, was a proof that at Bethlehem the children were not, as has been alleged, the property of the community, and that it was no part of the inſtitution to make the members renounce all private property. In proportion as the ſettlement advanced, and their labour became leſs urgent, the ſociety of Bethlehem ſaw the inconveniences attending a community of labour, produce, and enjoyment. The paſſions, the vices, and the virtues of man, have every where nearly the ſame character. The active brethren killed themſelves with work, while the idle took little trouble. Thoſe who reflected diſcovered, that whatever fatigue they endured, their ſituation was nowiſe ameliorated; and that induſtry, the indiſputable property of every man, afforded them not a ſingle advantage. Reflection then had the ſame effect on the induſtrious, as their natural

diſpoſition had on the idle; the ardour for labour no longer continued; the ſociety did not proſper, and the moſt of its members were diſcontented.

Theſe joint conſiderations induced them, in 1762, to change the ſyſtem of the community. The ſociety of Bethlehem was now eſtabliſhed on the rules of the ſocieties in Europe, and recalled to the true conſtitution of the ſociety at large; it is under this ſyſtem that it has been regulated ſince that epoch, as well as all the other Moravian congregations eſtabliſhed elſewhere in America.

By the preſent ordonnances, the communion of property is done away in favour of the individuals; it only continues as to the government of the ſociety, and it exiſts partially. The territorial property, as well as the profits of the tavern, the ſtore, the farm, the ſaw-mills, oil-mills, corn-mills, and fulling-mills, the tannery, and the dyeing manufactory, belong to the ſociety, which from theſe funds is enabled to provide for the poor, for the payment of debts, and of the public taxes. In all other reſpects every brother enjoys the abſolute property of whatever he can earn by his labour, be it what it may, and of the gifts which he may receive.

The government of the ſociety is veſted in the biſhop, the miniſter, the intendant, and the inſpectors,

ſpectors, male and female, of the different diviſions of the ſociety, which are five in number;—the young men unmarried; the unmarried ſiſters; the widows; the married brethren and ſiſters, and the ſchools. The intendant has the excluſive adminiſtration of the property of the ſociety; but he muſt adviſe with a committee, compoſed of from eight to ten members, and choſen by the brethren at large. In the name of the intendant they carry on all their tranſactions, grant leaſes of houſes and lands, ſecurities for borrowed money, diſcharges, &c. All the houſes, however, erected in the town of Bethlehem, and the four thouſand acres belonging to it, are not the property of the ſociety, nor even the greater part of them; they belong to brethren, who have built upon land for which they pay rent to the ſociety. The amount of this rent is two-pence the foot in front, by twenty feet in depth. The houſe built by the brother is his abſolute property; he can leave it to his wife or his children, in the ſame way as he can his other effects, or he can ſell it; only he cannot convey it but to a brother, who has obtained from the directory permiſſion to purchaſe it, with the burthen of the rent attached to it, and which perpetually remains.

The directors having the government of the ſociety, muſt admit into their territory thoſe only

who they think will not diſturb the ſociety. In the contracts of leaſe made by the intendant, with the advice of the committee, to thoſe intending to build a houſe, or to thoſe who purchaſe a houſe, it is always ſtipulated, that if the proprietor ſhall be deſirous of quitting it, and cannot find a purchaſer who may be agreeable to the ſociety, the ſociety is to purchaſe it at a price declared by a law, which alſo fixes the terms of payment. Garden ground, or land in the country, is let at ſix ſhillings the acre. Beſides the government farm appropriated to the benefit of the ſociety, there are ſix or ſeven ſmaller farms belonging to it. Theſe are let to tenants who pay a third part of their produce, and who alſo pay ſix ſhillings of rent for their garden grounds. Theſe tenants are all at preſent Moravians; but this condition is nowiſe indiſpenſable. Sometimes the farms are let to other perſons, only the ſociety muſt be ſatisfied as to their character and behaviour; and they will not receive as tenants thoſe of whom they have not received a ſatisfactory account.

The ſociety could eaſily procure a higher price, and might at once clear two thouſand five hundred acres, which ſtill remain in wood, if they would admit ſtrangers, or at leaſt not reſerve to themſelves this choice of thoſe who offer to take

their farms; but they are desirous beyond every thing of preserving what they call good order, union, and morality; and to this they sacrifice the augmentation of their revenues.

The town of Bethlehem is inhabited by between five and six hundred persons, all of the brother or sisterhood. They have workmen of every kind; but these cannot settle there without the permission of the directors, who suffer no workmen of the same business, but as far as they are necessary for the inhabitants. If more were to be permitted, they could not live by their trade. At the same time, the price of all kinds of work is fixed, to prevent the want of rivalship from putting it in the power of the workmen to make exorbitant demands; but the prices of the country around regulate those of the town. Beyond that the workmen are independent of the society in conducting their business. They purchase with their money what articles they have occasion for; they sell them as they think proper; the profits belong to them, without their accounting to the society, or even paying any tax. The only tax indeed which is levied, and which is common to all the inhabitants of the town, is for keeping up the roads, lamps, seats in the church, pumps, and reservoirs. This tax is every four or five years imposed upon each fa-

mily by name, according to the opinion of the committee of his means; but it is ſo moderate, that the families conſidered the richeſt in the town do not pay above thirty ſhillings or four dollars a year. This tax is paid every ſix months; and if it happen that, at the end of the year, the committee find that the money raiſed is not ſufficient to cover the expences, they demand double or treble of the laſt payment; and on the other hand, they demand nothing, when the expence is not ſo great as the tax fixed.

As to the public taxes, which in Pennſylvania, as I have already repeatedly obſerved, are only the taxes of the county, the ſociety pays theſe out of its funds. Theſe funds proceed from the lands, and the profits of the reſerved branches of manufactures or commerce. Each of the brethren put at the head of theſe different eſtabliſhments receives a ſalary from the ſociety, to which he pays in the profits, after the expence of his own and family's living and cloathing. The committee requires no detailed account of his management; he has received ſo much money—there remains ſo much in his hands. Such is the account given in by the tavern-keeper, the farmer, the miller, the ſtore-keeper, &c. When the directors are told of the poſſibility of ſuch perſons cheating the ſociety, they will not admit

mit it; becauſe, ſay they, all their characters are known to us; their actions are ſo public, that if they were diſhoneſt they could not be ſo long without being diſcovered, and they would then be diſmiſſed. They conſider that unlimited confidence as benevolence, brotherly charity, &c. They add to the defence of this motive—that a man narrowly watched is more excuſable in robbing, than one in whom confidence is placed; and they affirm, that they never have had reaſon to repent of this rule of confidence. It appears, however, that their different branches bring them in very little. The ſociety does not draw a dollar an acre free from their farms. The ſtore, extremely well ſupplied, which ſells a great deal in the neighbourhood, does not produce annually above eight hundred dollars. The tavern, although it has a great deal of cuſtom, does not clear more than fourſcore dollars; and the ſame is the caſe with reſpect to all the other branches in their hands. Induſtry is naturally ſlackened, when it is not excited by intereſt. The whole of the revenues of the ſociety of Bethlehem does not amount to eight thouſand dollars a year upon an average, and their expences are nearly equal to that income. In the firſt place, they have to pay to the direction of the Unity reſident in America, one-ſixteenth part of their reve-

nues, to contribute to the expences of the miſſionaries employed by the Unity among the Indians of North America, and a penſion to them when ſuperannuated. Five other ſixteenths pay the intereſt of the ſums borrowed for the purchaſe of lands and improvements; finally, their ſalaries are to be paid. The ſociety accounts to a general college, which tranſacts the buſineſs of the Unity, the neat ſums remaining, after payment of all expences; and the college have the power of determining what part of it ſhall be ſent to them, in order to contribute to the raiſing of a fund of ſeventy-two thouſand dollars, which the Unity has granted to the three daughters of Count Zinzendorff, and of which they pay the intereſt, until they ſhall be able to diſcharge the principal to them or their deſcendants.

That part of the revenues of the particular ſocieties ſent to the general college, is alſo meant to contribute to the other general expences of the Unity. The college has power to call for what portion of the revenue they think proper, but they never demand above a ſmall part, becauſe the particular ſocieties have each of them debts, which it is neceſſary for them to liquidate; beſides, theſe ſocieties, and particularly that of Bethlehem, ſettle in mortmain ſome part of their revenues every year. It likewiſe ſometimes hap-

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pens, that the revenues of the year are not equal to the neceſſary expenditure; in which caſe the intendant is authoriſed by the committee to make a loan. A great part of the ſum borrowed is lent by the brethren, who receive intereſt generally at the rate of five per cent, and are repaid their principal at any time upon ſix months previous demand. The ſociety's treaſurer is therefore at the ſame time the bank of the brethren, but who may place their money otherwiſe at their pleaſure. Sometimes the intendant borrows from ſtrangers; in that caſe he is obliged to pay the legal intereſt of the ſtate, which in Pennſylvania is ſix per cent.

Before going farther into this account of the eſtabliſhment of Bethlehem, it may be neceſſary to explain the nature of the general college, the ſynod, and the general directory of the Moravians, of which I have occaſion to ſpeak.

The ſociety of the Moravians is an oligarchical republic. Each of the eſtabliſhments in Europe and America names one or more deputies to the ſynod, ſuch deputy or deputies being elected by the brethren at large. The particular directory of each ſociety is alſo entitled to appoint one deputy. The great expence of travelling, which is defrayed by the ſocieties who ſend the deputies, induces the directories of the American

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ſocieties to delegate their powers to thoſe named by the brethren. The biſhops are entitled, if they think proper, to attend the ſynod, independent of the other deputies of the ſociety to which they belong. In the ſynod, when aſſembled, is veſted the ſovereignty. They alone have a right to alter the regulations, as well ſpiritual as temporal; they confirm or annul the appointment of the principal officers made during their receſs; and finally, they receive the accounts of all the general concerns, and decide thereon ultimately;—they are convened every ſeven years and remain aſſembled for two or three months; they name a college, compoſed of thirteen members, who, during their receſs, manage the general affairs of the Unity, appoint the principal officers, direct the miſſions, regulate the affairs, intereſt, diſcipline, &c. The ſittings of the college are held a league from Hernutt in Upper Luſatia; their functions continue during the receſs of the ſynod. On the meeting of the ſynod their powers ceaſe, and they are re-eſtabliſhed by the ſynod at the end of their ſeſſion, either from among the former members, or new ones are appointed, according to the will of the ſynod.

As to the general directory of America, their functions are to watch over the intereſts of the Unity in North America, and particularly to direct

rect the miſſions in that part of the world. It is compoſed of two agents of the general college, ſent to ſuperintend the management of the property belonging to the Unity, ſuch as certain farms or tracts of land in different parts of America, and particularly the fifteen thouſand acres granted by the United States, beyond the Ohio, on the Muſkingum, to the Moravian miſſionaries. The biſhops of America, the preacher of Nazareth, and the miniſter of Bethlehem, are alſo members. The directory names to certain functions in the American congregations, which urgency requires to be filled up before the general college can be conſulted, as the intendant, the biſhop, the miniſters, &c. Except this, the directory has no authority as a body over the affairs of the ſocieties, which, as I have mentioned above, have each its directory and committee. The biſhop ordains the biſhops, preachers, and prieſts; theſe laſt may alſo be ordained by each other. The biſhops have very inconſiderable ſalaries, as may be judged from the biſhop of Bethlehem, Mr. ERNHEIM, a man of fourſcore, who has no other domeſtic ſervant than his own daughter, and who I found baking cakes, which he ſells to increaſe his living. His ſalary is two hundred and thirty dollars, beſides being ſupplied with wood and lodging. The higheſt ſala-

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ries paid by the Unity do not exceed three hundred dollars.

I have already mentioned, that the Bethlehem ſociety is divided into five departments, each under the direction of an inſpector or inſpectreſs; and in this office we find the temporal adminiſtration of the ſociety in ſome degree mixed with its diſcipline. The unmarried brethren live together in a ſeparate houſe, that is, they eat and ſleep there, but they do not work there, if they can find work elſewhere. Moſt of them are apprentices or journeymen in the ſhops of the ſociety, or to the artificers in the town. The money which they earn is their own, only they muſt pay for their board, and for keeping up the building where they lodge, as well as their portion of the tax impoſed upon that houſe for the public expences of the town. All theſe expences, including their cloathing, may amount at preſent to forty-five dollars, while their earnings may be from a hundred to a hundred and ten. Thoſe who, for want of work out of doors, are employed in the houſe, are paid for their labour by the inſpector, who employs them, the amount of their board, and their other contributions to the common expences being firſt deducted. Thus the brethren of this houſe coſt the ſociety nothing. The ſame is the caſe with regard to the unmarried

unmarried ſiſters, ſome of whom are employed in the houſes of the town as ſervants and cook-maids. Theſe have their board and lodging in the families where they are employed, and pay to the houſe four or five dollars a year towards the common expences. This contribution preſerves to them the right of entering into that houſe when they pleaſe The greater part of them, however, are employed in the houſe in ſewing and embroidery; they are paid for their work by the inſpectreſs, who ſells it for the benefit of the houſe. The profit of theſe works contributes to maintain the poor, who are not numerous. The girls, from the price they receive for their work from the inſpectreſs, pay their board and their portion of the charges of the houſe, which amounts to the ſame ſum as that paid by the brethren. Thus this department is no longer an expence upon the ſociety; on the contrary, it relieves the ſociety from the maintenance of a great part, and often the whole of the poor. The unmarried ſiſters tie their flat bonnets under their chin with a red ribbon; the married women tie theirs with a blue, and the widows theirs with a white ribbon.

It is not however compulſory, upon either the young men or women, to reſide in theſe common houſes; their relations may take the entire diſ-

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poſal of them—keep them at home, or ſend them to other ſchools, as they think proper. The brethren of eaſy fortunes, for example, ſeldom ſend their daughters to the ſiſters houſe; and there are alſo ſiſters at the houſe of Bethlehem who belong to Moravian families not reſident in the town, and who often come from very diſtant parts.

As to the widows houſe, it is ſupported by the ſociety; and all the work they can do goes to the benefit of the houſe, when it is not ſufficient to defray their expences.

There has, for about fifteen years, been inſtituted among the Moravian brethren a ſort of voluntary ſociety in favour of widows. The members contribute each fifteen or twenty pounds, or from forty to fifty dollars. The intereſt of that ſum is ſettled upon the widows of the contributors, and betters their living if they reſide in the widows houſe, or is paid to them to aſſiſt their own houſe-keeping, if they live by themſelves. This ſociety is not confined to Bethlehem. The brethren of any of the eſtabliſhments in America may become members; and the capital being depoſited at Bethlehem, the intereſt is paid at the reſpective places of reſidence of the widows of the contributors. This ſociety has alſo its particular regulations; one, for example, by which a brother in a dangerous ſtate of health cannot be admitted to ſubſcribe.

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The ſchools are under the direction of an inſpector and inſpectreſs. There is an academy for the reception of young ladies from other parts, who receive there the uſual education of females, even muſic. The daughters of the brethren are likewiſe received there. This eſtabliſhment ſupports itſelf in reſpect to its private expences, the keeping up the buildings, and the contribution to the public charges. The board is forty-five dollars a year, and ſix dollars more for ſuch of them as are taught muſic. The daughters of the ſociety may be ſent to this ſchool, but their board muſt be paid by their relations. The ſociety pays for the daughters of thoſe who receive a ſalary from them, and alſo for the children of the poor. The daughters of the brethren not being boarders, the expence of their education is leſs. There are at this day ſixty-ſix of the boarders, who are ſtrangers, from different parts of the United States and the Antilles. This academy is in great reputation. The governeſſes appear to me to be attentive, and ſome of the ſcholars have made conſiderable proficiency in drawing, writing, and embroidery, and play tolerably upon the piano. At the ſame time, as the miſtreſſes are never choſen but from among the ſiſterhood, and as few of them have had any education other than at this ſchool, it is not to be expected that all of them can be always of ſufficient ability. A new building,

ing, added four or five years ago to the eſtabliſhment, has been erected, by means of a ſum of money borrowed for that purpoſe, the intereſt of which is paid by the ſchool.

There is alſo, at Bethlehem, under the direction of the miniſter, a ſmall ſchool for boys, where they are taught merely to read and write, and the firſt rules of arithmetic.

The laſt department, namely, that of the married brethren and ſiſters, is wholly a department of diſcipline. The married people reſide in their own houſes, and the inſpectors and inſpectreſſes have no concern with them, but to give advice when their conduct has been improper, as friends, as neighbours, and as divines. They have no farther influence or ſuperintendance of their actions or their concerns.

The Moravian is a religious ſociety. Religion, the exact maintenance of the creed of their doctrines, their worſhip, and their manners and cuſtoms, which they conſider neceſſary to the exact obſervance of that creed, and which they believe to be alone preſcribed by the goſpel, is the ſole end of their regulations, their diſcipline, and even their relations in point of temporal intereſt. With this religious intention is eſtabliſhed the exact ſuperintendance of the directory of the ſociety over the conduct of its members, and the

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care not to allow ſtrangers to ſettle among them. They are in this reſpect monks, but tolerant and mild monks, although ſeveral articles of their diſcipline would be thought ſevere, and even ridiculous, according to the received ideas in other countries.

For example, there is no communication allowed between the young men and women. When a young man means to marry, he ſignifies his wiſh to the inſpector, and mentions the girl he is deſirous of making his wife, but to whom he has never ſpoken. The inſpector applies to the inſpectreſs of the girls, who, if ſhe judges that the character of the young woman is not incompatible with the character given of the youth by the inſpector, propoſes it to her; the girl may refuſe, but is not allowed to ſay whom ſhe would prefer. The parents are conſulted; and the directory give their ſanction, or reject the propoſal of the marriage thus far advanced, if they think that the youth will not be able, by his labour, to maintain his wife and children, or if they ſee in it any other danger likely to accrue to the good order of the ſociety;—but theſe refuſals are rare. The regulation by which the man is not allowed to converſe with the woman before his having aſked and obtained her in marriage, has, in the opinion of the Moravians, the advantage of pre-

venting all kind of ſeduction, and conſequently, ſay they, all danger of improper conduct. Marriage is, according to them, a ſpiritual union: the brethren and ſiſters being filled with the Holy Spirit, live more cordially together; their union is more durable, than if it were founded on a choice of their hearts, which might deceive them. They even regard the affection which precedes marriage as a diſpoſition contrary to the ſanctity of marriage; and they carry this opinion ſo far, that when it happens, which is not without examples, though they are extremely rare, that a brother and a ſiſter had privately a too intimate connection, theſe cannot afterwards be married together. The crime is kept private with the inſpectors and the directory. The girl is reprimanded, but with mildneſs; kept with the reſt if ſhe ſeem to repent; and married to another young man, if aſked by any one, but never to her favourite, at leaſt unleſs both of them renounce the ſociety.

Marriage takes place, not only between the youth of the ſame ſociety, but between thoſe of different Moravian ſocieties. When a man or a woman wiihes to marry a perſon of another religion, they are not prevented, if they perſiſt in their reſolution, in ſpite of the advice of their inſpectors and the directory, it being the principle of the Moravian ſociety, never to compel any perſons

perſons to continue in it againſt their inclination; but they are then conſidered to belong no longer to the ſociety, and muſt quit it. Examples of this ſometimes happen, as the girls, whoſe relatives live at a diſtance, have permiſſion to viſit their family, and occaſionally meet young men whom they prefer to the Moravian brethren propoſed to them by their inſpectreſſes.

The girls in the houſe of the ſiſters are not kept ſhut up; they have liberty to go out; but, as the ſociety is ſmall, the practice of watching them is ſo univerſal, that all their actions are known; and the ſpirit of the religion in which they are educated and kept, prevents them from every act, however innocent, which the ſociety conſiders irregular—as, for example, to ſpeak to a young man. This ſpirit of watchfulneſs and of religion is alike extended to thoſe of the ſiſters who are employed as domeſtics in families, and are thus leſs under the immediate and conſtant eye of the inſpectreſs; and this ſyſtem extends towards the young men and women of other religions, employed in the different eſtabliſhments of the ſociety. The ſlighteſt converſation with an unmarried woman is a ground to expel the offender from the precincts of the ſociety; and as this rigid law is known to ſtrangers before

they enter into the ſervice, it is very rarely infringed.

The directors informed me, that this law to prevent all commerce between the unmarried of the two ſexes, originated in the fervour of the young females, at the time of the reſtoration of the ſociety in 1722; that they eſtabliſhed it among themſelves, and it thence became an eſſential article of diſcipline of the ſociety.

The ſociety, however, is deſirous of encouraging marriage; and with juſtice, if they wiſh their perpetuity, as they would receive little addition from ſtrangers, were they even willing to admit them. But, as I have already ſaid, their grand object is to preſerve their doctrines, their diſcipline, and their fundamental cuſtoms, which preſent conſiderable obſtacles to marriage. A young man will not marry, who does not ſee how he is to gain his bread, and maintain his family comfortably. He can only be an artizan; and the number of theſe is circumſcribed in Bethlehem, as well as in all the other Moravian ſocieties. The beſt ſhoemaker, ſmith, or other perſon, cannot ſet up in his trade, while the very confined number of artiſans of the ſame buſineſs is full. The ſociety have a ſufficient quantity of land in wood to clear, which a number of young people would be

be diſpoſed to rent; but ſtill they would not be ſo immediately, as is wiſhed, under the eye of the directory; they might perhaps relax in their religion, in the ſeverity of manners exacted as the means of keeping it up, and on theſe grounds the ſociety have refuſed them; whence it follows, that marriages are by no means frequent, and that there are to be found in the houſe of the ſiſters, unmarried women as far advanced in life as among the widows. Thus, notwithſtanding the American fecundity, of which the married ſiſters have their ſhare, the ſociety diminiſhes rather than increaſes.

The Moravian brethren and ſiſters receive no dowry from the ſociety on their marriage, but they enjoy the ſavings which they may have made in a ſtate of celibacy. Beſides, every brother may poſſeſs property out of the precincts of the ſociety. There is one of them who has ſpeculated largely in land, and is proprietor of ſeveral thouſand acres, not only in different parts of Pennſylvania, but alſo in the other ſtates. However, this occupation of augmenting his fortune is conſidered as a kind of relaxation of principle. It is not contrary to any of the ſtatutes of the ſociety, but it is contrary to their ſpirit; they do not forbid it, but it is not approved of by rigid Moravians. A Moravian brother has erected a

wooden bridge over the river Lehigh, built by a ſubſcription, to which a number of the other brethren have contributed.

I have already obſerved, that ſtangers may be received into the Moravian ſociety as brethren: the condition of their admiſſion is—that they ſhall live for ſome months under the eye of the ſociety, conformably to its ſpirit, doctrines, and principles; and finally, their conſent to follow the rules of the ſociety is declared by their ſignature. Every Moravian brother alſo, upon his marriage, or ſetting up houſekeeping, muſt ſubſcribe to the ſtatutes. One of their rules is, that they ſhall not apply to courts of law to ſettle any diſputes among them, whether of a civil or criminal nature; the committee, which is the intendant's council, is the tribunal appointed to ſettle their differences, by way of arbitration. Their judgment has no force, except as it is given by the conſent of parties, who ſtill have it in their power to appeal to the courts of juſtice of the country; but their doing ſo excludes them from the ſociety. The diſputes between the brethren and ſtrangers are determined by the ordinary tribunals, without the ſpirit of the ſociety being thereby affected. It is the ſame with any diſputes which the ſociety itſelf, as a proprietor, may have with neighbours, merchants, or others.

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As to the practice of worſhip, it conſiſts in prayers and ſermons twice a week, which all the members of the ſociety muſt attend, unleſs they have very good reaſons for abſence; and prayers every morning and evening, at which the young brethren and ſiſters aſſiſt, the two ſexes being ſeated in different ſides of the church.

The Moravian brethren and ſiſters are all Germans, or deſcendants of Germans, and thus German is the common language at Bethlehem, many of the inhabitants not ſpeaking any other. They have all a ſimple, agreeable, and tranquil mein. The directors ſay that they are very happy; but ſo ſay alſo the heads of convents in reſpect of their monks and nuns. It would be neceſſary to remain ſome time with them to diſcover the truth. Nothing ſhews itſelf in their countenances, either of great ſatisfaction or diſcontent; they are cold, ſlow, and want external expreſſion.

The Bethlehem ſociety is independent of the others in reſpect to matters of intereſt and property, as the others are of it; but all are under the ſame ſyſtem, and all depend alike upon the general college and the ſynod. When the college wiſhes to make a new eſtabliſhment in America, they intruſt it to the general directory of the Unity in America, who communicate the

matter to the different ſocieties. Theſe lend money for the undertaking, and propoſe to the brethren to go and become members of the new eſtabliſhment. The brethren may refuſe, but they rarely do; and on theſe occaſions it is that marriages are moſt numerous. An eſtabliſhment is at preſent propoſed near the river Muſkingum, beyond the Ohio. In this manner was formed the eſtabliſhment of Salem in North Carolina, in 1754, where the preſent biſhop of Bethlehem, then a ſimple miniſter, told me he cut the firſt tree; another near Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania, and another, twenty years ago, in the county of Suſſex in Jerſey, at Mount Hope.

I here conclude this long detail of the ſociety of Bethlehem. I owe my acknowledgments to the Biſhop, to the Intendant, to Mr. HOSFIELD the poſtmaſter, a man of ſenſe, and much eſteemed in the ſociety; and to Mr. CUNOW, one of the members of the general directory of the Unity in America, ſent about a year ago from Europe to fill this office, after being a member of the ſynod, and for ſeven years ſecretary to the general college. He is an enlightened and ſenſible man, and one whoſe converſation diſcovers great ſincerity and purity of heart.

NAZARETH,

NAZARETH, CHRISTIAN-BROWN, AND GNADENTHAL.

Mr. Cunow wiſhed to conduct me to Nazareth, another Moravian ſociety, ſix miles diſtant from Bethlehem, which was eſtabliſhed ſo late as 1771, and is peopled with about two hundred perſons, including the academy, where the brethren are inſtructed in arithmetic, drawing, muſic, mathematics, and the French and Engliſh languages. A conſiderable number of pupils come from other parts to this ſeminary, which has ſome reputation; but the maſters appear to me very indifferent, at leaſt in reſpect of drawing, muſic, and French, which they cannot ſpeak, and which they appear to be able only to read, but not to pronounce. They ſeem to be much inferior to the ſiſters academy at Bethlehem. Hence the ſtrangers who come to ſtudy here, are not from the United States, but moſtly from the iſlands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and Antigua, where the Moravian brethren have miſſionaries. The board, including the expence of cloathing, amounts to near two hundred dollars a year. The brethren pay for their children, and the different Moravian ſocieties in America pay for the young brethren whom they ſend, when their parents cannot afford it, and for thoſe whom the directory conſider of diſtinguiſhed talents. In other

other reſpects the ſyſtem of the ſociety of Nazareth is the ſame as that of Bethlehem, and all the others.

Near Nazareth there is another little Moravian ſociety, conſiſting of thirty houſes. Independent of theſe, there are alſo a number of Moravians ſpread through among the environs of Bethlehem and Nazareth, as well as in other parts of America; but theſe are only admitted to what they call the communion, and are not members of the ſociety. Nazareth is ſituated in a beautiful valley, of greater extent than that of Bethlehem, and more pleaſant; but the river Lehigh and Manokiſy-creek give to the appearance and ſituation of Bethlehem an agreeable richneſs, which is altogether wanting at Nazareth.

Before arriving at this place, we paſſed two farms, Chriſtian-brown and Gnadenthal, belonging to the Moravian Unity, and thus out of the direction of the ſocieties of Bethlehem and Nazareth. They are under the ſuperintendance of two directors appointed by the general college, and of theſe Mr. Cunow, with whom I was, is one. Theſe farms comprehend two thouſand five hundred acres, of which only eight hundred and ten are cleared. They are very well ſituated, and the lands excellent—they bear from twenty-five to thirty-five buſhels of corn the acre: thoſe

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in meadow yield in proportion, and yet they do not bring the revenue a clear profit of ſix ſhillings the acre; I ſpeak of the lands cleared. The want of hands, and the great expence of thoſe that can be got, is made an excuſe for this bad order of things, but it appears to me rather the fruit of ignorance and negligence. Some farms are let to tenants, who pay as rent one-half of their winter, and one-third of their ſummer produce; and theſe bring more profit to the Unity.

Mr. Cunow appeared ſenſible of the impropriety of the preſent bad management of theſe farms, and was employed in reforming it.

In commending, with him, the zeal of the Moravians to propagate the goſpel among the Indians, I ſpoke to him of the benefit it would be to propagate in America a good method of culture, which would be eaſy to them in the eſtabliſhment of their farms. They might employ ſome Engliſh Moravian farmers, and form in their farms a ſchool of agriculture, where a number of young American farmers might be inſtructed at once. Such an eſtabliſhment would undoubtedly, from the high price of labour, increaſe their expences for ſome years; but that inconvenience, which might probably be an invincible obſtacle to an individual, could not be ſo to a ſociety. It would ſoon be repaid an hundred

dred ſold by their produce, and the benefit which ſuch an eſtabliſhment would render to the country, would be an everlaſting honour to this benevolent and beneficent ſociety. Mr. Cunow appeared to me not to be inſenſible of this idea, the realiſation of which would produce innumerable happy conſequences to the United States.

THE ROAD TO EASTON.—EASTON.

The country from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and from Nazareth to Eaſton, is a ſucceſſion of little hills and vallies more or leſs extenſive. Many ſituations on this road afford very agreeable proſpects. The houſes are numerous, and have the air of comfort. The price of land in all this tract is from twenty-four to forty-eight dollars the acre.

Eaſton is built on the conflux of the rivers Lehigh and Delaware. It is the capital of the county of Northampton, which has twenty-ſix thouſand inhabitants. The land which is the ſite of the town is about two hundred acres in extent, lying compactly between the river and the mountains; it is nothing but ſand and pebbles, and the mountains which ſurround it are compoſed of calcareous ſtone. The ſituation of this ground, its compoſition, and a compariſon of it with other lands around, leave no doubt that it muſt

muſt have formerly been the bed of the rivers, which have changed their courſe. This city, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty houſes, moſtly of ſtone, contains the public buildings of the county. The inhabitants are moſtly Germans, or their deſcendents. The city was begun to be built in 1750, and has gradually increaſed. Almoſt the whole of the land, as well as a great part of the land in the neighbourhood, belonged to the family of Penn. At the time of the revolution, a great number of perſons ſeized upon it unlawfully; and it was not till 1794 that the Penn family were reſtored to their right, upon a ſettlement with the poſſeſſors, and received from them a price not equal to the preſent value, but conſiderably more than it was worth at the time of the uſurpation. Thoſe who refuſed were compelled by law.

Eaſton has a conſiderable trade in corn with Philadelphia. There belong to this city, and ſtand within ſeven miles round it, eleven good mills, upon the ſame conſtruction as thoſe of Brandywine. They ſend annually thirty-five thouſand barrels of flour to the Philadelphia market. A part of Jerſey, in the neighbourhood of the Delaware, and which enjoys no creek capable of turning mills, ſend their corn to the mills about Eaſton, as do all the county of

Northampton.

Northampton. The Delaware is navigable for veſſels of a conſiderable burthen a hundred miles higher than Eaſton. The veſſels from Eaſton to Philadelphia carry ſeven hundred barrels of flour.

The town lots, which are twenty feet in front and two hundred in depth, are ſold at from two hundred and forty to five hundred dollars, according to their ſituation. The lands in the neighbourhood are worth from twenty-five to an hundred dollars the acre. This country, like all the reſt of Pennſylvania, is covered with fine orchards. They ſeem to begin to know ſomething of the difference of the kinds of trees, and the advantage of grafting. The labourers are paid from four to five ſhillings a day in the country about Eaſton. Maſons and carpenters receive in the town a dollar and a quarter. Meat coſts five pence a pound, and is in great abundance. Board coſts here three dollars a week, and houſes let at forty-five dollars.

THE ROAD TO BELVIDERE.—BELVIDERE.

The river Delaware is throughout the boundary between the ſtate of Pennſylvania and that of New Jerſey. It is narrow at Eaſton, and they are now collecting wood to erect a bridge over it, the abutments of which on each ſide are already

ready built: until it be finiſhed, the river is croſſed in a very good ferry-boat. Being deſirous of viewing the banks of this river, I went ſo far out of my road to follow them. The road to Belvidere, which I took, is all along through the Scotch Mountains, and the little hills, which in this tract almoſt uniformly border the river, amidſt an agreeable ſucceſſion of large vallies, from three to ſix or ſeven miles in extent. The country is filled with well built houſes, pretty cloſe together. The lands are of a good quality, and in a ſtate of high cultivation; even ſome of the declivities of the mountains are cleared, and are very productive. The whole of this road preſents a ſucceſſion of proſpects, not extenſive, but rich and agreeable. In three or four places we loſe intirely the little hills which border the Delaware, and enjoy a view towards Philadelphia, through vallies much more extenſive, ſtill better cultivated and inhabited than thoſe of Jerſey, and which is terminated by the Blue Mountains. Theſe proſpects are rich, varied, and delightful. The Piſqueſi-creek, which empties itſelf into the Delaware at Belvidere, is the only water to be found in the tract from Eaſton, which is more than fourteen miles, and the corn of all that diſtrict is carried to the Eaſton mills. This creek, which has a courſe of thirty miles, is at

Belvidere.

Belvidere broad and rapid. Two ſucceſſive falls, of from fifteen to twenty feet each, turn corn and ſaw-mills. The corn-mills ſend their flour to Philadelphia, and are ſupplied with grain in the neighbourhood, where it is produced in great quantities. This traffic is carried on by the Delaware; but the navigation of that river, although it is open for an hundred and fifty miles higher, is rendered difficult and dangerous, from the very ſtrong currents, and the number of rocks in ſeveral parts of it. There are two or three of theſe rapids between Belvidere and Eaſton, two of them two miles from Belvidere, called the Little and Great Falls: at the latter, in three quarters of a mile of its courſe, the river has a fall of twenty-nine feet. The navigable canal is near the ſhore of Philadelphia, and is not above ſix toiſes or fathoms broad. Beyond that the river is full of rocks, a very little depth under water, and ſometimes appearing above its ſurface. I was informed, that notwithſtanding the rapidity of this current, which carries veſſels at the rate of a mile in two minutes, and the number of rocks in its courſe, the boats are in no danger when the boatmen are attentive; but it often happens that they are not ſo, but get drunk, which produces frequent accidents; for if the boat be allowed to go the leaſt to one ſide, and be not kept carefully

fully in the ſtream, it is inevitably driven either againſt the rocks or the bank. The riſing and falling of the waters increaſe the danger; and beſides this, the ice uniformly ſtops the navigation during the winter: it is often impracticable in the ſpring, and even to the middle of ſummer. The navigation from Belvidere to Philadelphia is made in twenty-four hours, and it takes five or ſix days to go up the river from Philadelphia to Belvidere. Hence a hundred-weight, which coſts only the fifth of a dollar to be carried to Philadelphia, coſts three quarter dollars to be ſent to Belvidere. The ſame applies to the whole navigation of the Delaware, with the difference of the freight, according to their diſtance. The batteaux, which come down from Belvidere, carry ſeventy barrels of flour. By theſe the ſtores at Belvidere are ſupplied with dry goods and liquors from Philadelphia, with which they, in their turn, ſupply that part of the country which furniſhes the corn to the mills. The price of goods at Belvidere is about thirty per cent higher than at Philadelphia. There are at preſent two ſtores at Belvidere, which are ſaid to be in a proſperous ſituation.

Belvidere conſiſts of about twenty houſes, but the number of inhabitants is annually increaſing, and the neighbourhood is very populous. It is

one of the pleaſanteſt ſituations which I have hitherto ſeen in America. The view is not very extenſive, but it embraces a great number of gentle elevations on both ſides of the river, and filled with houſes. It follows the Delaware for two miles and to the head of the Great Falls, and is bounded, at the diſtance of three or four miles, by the chain of the Scotch mountains, along the ſide of which the road runs towards Eaſton. The lands in the neighbourhood of Belvidere are ſold at from forty to forty-eight dollars the acre. The town-lots, which are a quarter of an acre, bring at preſent from a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five dollars. The lands ſome miles farther are ſold for from thirty to thirty-five dollars the acre, and thoſe in Pennſylvania at the ſame diſtance are always three or four dollars dearer, although not of better quality than thoſe in Jerſey. This proceeds from the ſuperior excellence of the Pennſylvania laws, the more flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, which requires leſs taxes than in Jerſey for the expences of government; and, finally, from the dependence of that part of the ſtate of Jerſey upon Philadelphia for its ſales and returns.

Theſe motives, however, do not appear ſufficient to occaſion ſo great a difference of price between lands of the ſame quality, and in the ſame ſituation.

ſituation. This difference however does exiſt, and the Pennſylvania ſide is by far the more populous.

Although negro ſlavery be countenanced by the laws of Jerſey, the number of ſlaves is not there ſo conſiderable as to prevent the neceſſity of the labour of whites. Labourers are ſcarce: the free negroes, who hire themſelves out, receive, like other labourers, half a dollar a day and their board.

I had a letter from Mr. DRAYTON, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Congreſs, to Major HOPE, one of the inhabitants of Belvidere. He was formerly proprietor of all the land on which the town is now built, and of fourteen or fifteen hundred acres around it, which he purchaſed thirty years ago, for four dollars an acre. At that time it was in a deſert ſtate. He has retained only three hundred acres, on which is built a pretty but very ſmall houſe that he occupies. He received me with that cordial politeneſs and ſimplicity which I have found all through America, and would have had me ſtay with him a week, aſſuring me that it would put him to no trouble or inconvenience. I departed however after having paſſed half a day with him.

This country, as well as all the way I travelled from Philadelphia, is full of little birds of the

ſize and kind of a blackbird; they are black, but their head is of the moſt brilliant plumage. They fly from branch to branch, and on the incloſures round the fields, and do not ſeem to be frightened at the approach of travellers.

The moſt common trees in the woods are the cephalantus, the black and white walnut, the Canada beech, the ſumach, the rhus toxicodendrum, the laurel, the benjamin and the ſaſſafras.

HACKETSTOWN.

A ſucceſſion of hills, preceding the chain of the Scotch mountains, leads to Hacketſtown, where I ſlept the 25th of June. We meet then conſtantly mountains and deſcents through a very rocky country; although, ſometimes, the road runs for a mile or two through valleys. This road preſents nothing agreeable to the view. Except theſe firſt hills neareſt the Delaware, all the reſt is thinly inhabited, and of courſe poorly cultivated. The houſes are rudely built of trunks of trees, and have a miſerable appearance. Occaſionally we meet with buildings ſomewhat better, but theſe are few. We ſee alſo meadows of conſiderable extent. This indeed is the moſt uſual kind of agriculture in theſe mountains; where, however, we find alſo ſome rye, corn, and maize, which is little cultivated on the Jerſey

ſide

ſide of the banks of the Delaware. Apple orchards are likewiſe very common.

Five miles from Belvidere is Oxford-forge, ſo called from the name of the townſhip in which it is ſituated. This work had been given up for ſome years, and was lately renewed by Mr. ROBERDEAU, and Mr. CAMPBELL, with whom I dined at the houſe of Major Hope: it is not yet carried on with ſpirit. Five miles farther is Mintſmill, ſo called from the name of the proprietor. The river is croſſed by the bank of the mill, which is very narrow, and a foot deep of water when the mill is not going: the water then falls about twelve feet, and is twenty fathoms wide. A little canoe, which was lying by the bank, frightened my horſe, who, to ſave himſelf, leaped into the canoe, which he overſet; but, although I run a great riſk, he carried me out ſafely, and better than he would have been able to do from the caſcade into which we muſt have fallen, but for this ridiculous leap. This is the ſame Creek Piſqueſſi which I paſſed before on a bridge four miles higher. The lands are indifferent in all this tract; they ſell for ſix or ſeven dollars an acre. The generality of the inhabitants are Germans or ſons of Germans; there are alſo a number of Iriſh, and people from New England. Hacketſtown is a long paltry village,

thinly and badly inhabited. It lies half a mile from the Scotch mountains, which are called Cooly, or the Muſkinigunk Mountains. The water is brackiſh and very bad. Fevers are alſo frequent here in autumn, which is the caſe in all parts of Jerſey, particularly thoſe to the north and the middle of the ſtate. The lands at and about Hacketſtown are ſold at from ſix to nine dollars an acre, and are generally kept in meadow. The produce which is not conſumed in the country, and all the articles of iron manufactured at the forge, are carried to New York, or rather to Elizabethtown, from whence they are ſhipped for New York. Four thouſand pounds of hay is the general produce of an acre, and eighteen or twenty buſhels of rye, or Indian corn, in the lands under that culture. Labourers are found rather eaſier this year than in the two preceding ones, trade being leſs quick at New York. They are paid at Hacketſtown three quarter-dollars a day, if they board themſelves, or the half of that ſum with their board. The country abounds in iron mines, which are ſaid to be very rich, and are found at a very ſmall depth.

Three miles from Hacketſtown there is a ſpring of ferruginous mineral water, pretty much frequented in ſummer, and it would be ſtill more ſo if better fitted up, but the ſpring is ſcarcely covered.

covered. An old caſk, ſtanding in the open air, and covered with a bunch of willows, is the common bathing place; there is no other: and as there is no houſe built at the place, thoſe who come to drink the waters are obliged to lodge in the neighbouring farm-houſes, and if they wiſh to drink wine they muſt carry it with them. The property of the ground in which the ſpring is ſituated being under diſpute between two perſons, there is no ſaying when this place, which would produce great profits to one that would arrange it conveniently, will receive any melioration.

About two miles before reaching Hacketſtown, at the foot of a mountain which I aſcended on foot, I perceived in the wood, ſixty or ſeventy feet from the road, ſomething of conſiderable ſize, the form of which I could not diſtinguiſh, but it ſeemed to hang on a tree: this was towards evening. I went up to it, and it appeared to be a dead animal, but having touched it with my whip, it leaped to the ground; it went ſlowly into the wood, emitting a fœtid ſmell. It was an opoſſum, of which I had ſeen a great many at Philadelphia, but had not before found them in the woods. This one muſt have been a foot and an half long, including the tail, which was about half a foot. The tail is flat and covered

with a kind of rough ſcales, which enables it to ſuſpend itſelf from the trees. They are very common in Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Maryland. The remarkable peculiarity of this animal is a kind of bag, which the females have under their belly, where they keep their young from the time they are brought forth, and where they remain till they are able to run. Theſe animals live on fruit, fleſh, and on birds, when they can catch them. There are alſo in Jerſey rats and racoons. The ſkin of the racoon ſells at Philadelphia for two or three ſhillings. The hatters mix the hair of it with beaver and rabbits hair to make hats. Some perſons conſider a racoon a delicate morſel; to me it was execrable, although I ate it more readily than I did young bear, which I found excellent.

THE ROAD TO MORRISTOWN.—REYNHARD.

In travelling from Hacketſtown we croſs the Creek Muſkinigunk, which falls into the Delaware five or ſix miles below, and theſe are the laſt waters that take this courſe; the Scotch, Cooly, or Muſkinigunk mountains, throwing them the other way. This chain of mountains, as I have already mentioned, is a continuation of the Lehigh mountains. The creeks beyond them run either into the Bay of New York or the

the North River; but thoſe only that are in the northern part of the ſtate take this courſe. Theſe mountains are not very high, but are the higheſt in Jerſey. They are about a mile broad. The lands are very indifferent and thinly inhabited; and the few inhabitants are talking of emigrating towards the weſtern territory, or to Teneſſee. Great part of them are Germans. At the foot of theſe mountains we croſs one of the ſources of the Rariton, a river by which is carried on the navigation between Brunſwick and New York. Here we quitted the county of Suſſex, which contains nineteen thouſand free inhabitants, and a hundred and fifty ſlaves. My horſe was ſo hurt with the ſaddle that I was obliged to ſtop at the firſt tavern I found. I happily fell upon the houſe of one of the worthieſt and moſt obliging men living, REYNHARD, of German extraction, who took charge of my horſe till it ſhould be healed, which might take a fortnight, and who lent me one to go to Morriſtown, where I could find the means of getting to New York. He is proprietor of a farm of three hundred and forty acres, for which he paid, two years ago, five dollars an acre, being the common price in the country. The ſtate of culture and the prices are pretty much the ſame as on the other ſide of the mountains; the lands are however better. They have

ſown

ſown no corn ſince four or five years ago, when the Heſſian fly deſtroyed two ſucceſſive crops. They propoſe to recommence that culture next year, theſe flies appearing to have quitted Jerſey. The townſhip where Mr. Reynhard's tavern is ſituated is called Flanders. It is in a great meaſure peopled with Iriſh, or emigrants from New England.

There are two churches in the neighbourhood, one of Methodiſts, and the other Preſbyterians.

In Jerſey, as well as Pennſylvania, the expence of worſhip is defrayed by voluntary ſubſcription. No perſon pays who does not chuſe, and there are many who contribute nothing.

Mr. Reynhard alſo keeps a ſtore. The price of carriage from his houſe to Elizabethtown, thirty-two miles diſtance, is three dollars and three quarters the thouſand weight. The price of ſtores is here five and twenty per cent dearer than at New York; but a perſon muſt be both ſkilful and fortunate to clear half the profit of what ſo high a price ſeems to promiſe. The greateſt ſale is of liquors, and the number of neighbours who come to drink without paying is conſiderably greater than of thoſe who do pay. It is, therefore, neceſſary to follow the practice of courts; the one half of the money of thoſe who pay remains here, as elſewhere, in the hands of juſtice.

A ſtore-

A ſtore-keeper, who ſhould refuſe to give credit, would here ſell nothing: ſo at leaſt I was told by the worthy Reynhard. Other articles pay better, but do not make a quick return. Although the legal currency of the ſtate of Jerſey is the ſame with that of Pennſylvania, namely, ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence the dollar, the great traffic with New York makes the New York currency (eight ſhillings the dollar) more common in that part of Jerſey, where this commerce is carried on; and in that currency they make their markets and ſtate their accounts.

THE ROAD FROM REYNHARD'S TAVERN TO MORRISTOWN.—MORRISTOWN.

The country, after leaving Flanders, is every where mountainous; they become lower and lower as we proceed, but we do not entirely loſe them till within a few miles of Morriſtown. All this way the houſes are very indifferent, and very thinly ſcattered. The lands ſeem to be ſomewhat better. The moſt common crops are graſs, rye, and Indian corn. The bread uſed in this part of Jerſey is moſtly of rye, as bread of Indian corn is moſt common in New England.

Morriſtown, the capital of Morris county, which we enter on croſſing a branch of the Rari-

ton,

ton, is a pretty village, conſiſting of a hundred houſes, diſperſed over the hillocks around. Here is the court of juſtice, a Preſbyterian church, and the great ſquare laid out for the centre of the town, but which can never be regular from the ſituation of the grounds. Beſides the Preſbyterian church, which is tolerably handſome, there is another belonging to the Anabaptiſts, and an academy, well built and reſpectably conducted. The ſcholars ſent away from this are fit for the ſecond claſs in the college of Princetown.

All the houſes in Morriſtown are of wood, neat and well painted. The town-lots coſt from eighty to a hundred and twenty dollars. Here, as in all this part of Jerſey, moſt of the ground is in graſs and Indian corn. They rear a good many cattle, which they ſend to Philadelphia and New York. The fear of the Heſſian fly has prevented the farmers here from reſuming the culture of corn; ſome of them, however, mean to attempt it next year. There is at Morriſtown a ſmall "Society for the encouragement of Agriculture and uſeful Arts." From what I could learn of ſome of the moſt zealous of its members, it has only the title—it does nothing: the ſubſcription of the members furniſhes a library, which at preſent conſiſts of no more than two hundred volumes,

volumes, and in which, according to the ſenſible inſtitution of the founders, there are to be no books either of law or divinity.

CHATHAM AND NEWARK.

Chatham, lying eight miles from Morriſtown, is the firſt village we find on the New York road. Here the plain commences, and afterwards the ground becomes uneven as far as Newark. The agriculture and vent for the produce, all the way to Newark, is nearly the ſame as at Morriſtown. The country is ſtill more covered with orchards of apples, cherries, and peaches. They complain in Jerſey of a ſmall worm, which inſinuates itſelf into the roots of the peach trees, and kills the tree in a year or two after it has attacked it. They have not been able to diſcover either the cauſe of this worm, or a method to deſtroy it. Peach-brandy is nevertheleſs nearly as conſiderable an article of commerce in Jerſey as cyder-brandy.

The inhabitants of Jerſey, beſt informed upon that ſubject, told me, that they export more of theſe two kinds of brandy than they export of rum, wine-brandy, gin, and wine. Their export muſt therefore be great, as the conſumption of foreign ſpirits is not leſs conſiderable in Jerſey than elſewhere.

The

The red fruit, of which there are ſeveral kinds unknown in Europe, abounds in the county of Eſſex; bounded by the river Paſſaik, a mile from Chatham, which contains ſeventeen thouſand free inhabitants, and thirteen hundred ſlaves.

Lands ſell at Chatham, and at Springfield (four miles beyond Newark), at from thirty to forty-five dollars the acre. The ſoil is good; the houſes increaſe in number and become better as we approach Newark, which is itſelf one of the fineſt villages in America, in point of extent, plan, the great number of good houſes, and the wideneſs of the ſtreets, which are covered generally with turf, and planted with trees.

The people of Jerſey ſeem to be very much divided in their political opinions. Nobody, or at leaſt very few, now ſpeaks of George Waſhington. The new Preſident ſeems not to inſpire the ſame confidence as his predeceſſor did. They dread a war with France. They conſtantly aſk any traveller coming from Philadelphia whom they meet, and who appears to be a Frenchman, whether they are to have a war with France; and this queſtion is generally accompanied with evident marks of diſapprobation of the party which is thought to incline to that war. I ſincerely hope no ſuch event will take place. It would be a great misfortune to this country, where the people

people are virtuous, tranquil, and happy, and which will require yet a long duration of the bleſſings of peace to confirm its proſperity, to cement its union, to ſweeten the ill blood of parties, and to inſure its real independence. It would alſo be a ſerious misfortune to France, while it would occaſion great joy to England, and would give pleaſure to all the enemies of liberty and free conſtitutions.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF JERSEY.

The firſt eſtabliſhments made in New Jerſey were by the Dutch, ſhortly after their arrival at the north river, under the conduct of Admiral HUDSON. The ſettlements were made along the river Delaware, and were abandoned by the ſame Dutchmen in 1614. They were, in 1626, taken poſſeſſion of by the Swedes, who, adviſed by WILLIAM USELING, a rich merchant of that kingdom, of the beauty and fertility of the lands, formed a company. King GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the nobility and clergy, and a number of individuals in Sweden, furniſhed money to the company, who ſent to North America, in ſeven or eight veſſels, a conſiderable number of Swediſh and Finlander coloniſts. They arrived at Cape Henlepon in 1626, and the company's agents purchaſed from the Indians all the lands ſituated between

between that cape, at the mouth of the Delaware, and the falls of that river, lying under the forty-firſt degree of latitude. The colony there formed ſettlements, built forts along the river, and called the country New Sweden; but were intirely diſpoſſeſſed and driven off in 1655, by the Dutch, who ſent to Holland all the agents, officers, and principal Swediſh inhabitants, as priſoners of war; put the country under the Dutch government, and gave it the name of New Albion. The Dutch were themſelves expelled by the Engliſh, in the reign of Charles the Second; and this territory was, in 1672, granted by the king to his brother the Duke of York. It was ſoon after ſold by him to Lord BERKLEY and Sir GEORGE CARTERET, who gave it the name of New Jerſey, and eſtabliſhed at Elizabethtown the ſeat of government of the colony. The colony of New Jerſey made part of the province of New York till 1680, when the proprietors eſtabliſhed it as a ſeparate province.

A conſiderable number of Quakers from London and York came here to ſettle, and laid the foundation of the little town of Burlington, having purchaſed the territory from the Indians. That on the eaſt ſide of the Delaware was purchaſed by William Penn, who was one of the company known under the name of *The Twelve Proprietors*,

Proprietors, and is the diſtrict which afterwards formed the ſtate of Delaware.

The quarrels which took place between the proprietors of New Jerſey and the inhabitants, from the avidity of the former, determined both parties to put the government of the colony under the ſovereignty of the crown of England. It was then united to the government of New York, and continued ſo till 1736, when its population having greatly increaſed, it was once more erected into a ſeparate ſtate. In 1776, New Jerſey formed its new conſtitution, which it has retained without any alteration ſince that period.

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF NEW JERSEY.

The legiſlature is compoſed of a general aſſembly and a legiſlative council. Each county, of which there are in New Jerſey thirteen, names three members of the general aſſembly, and one of the legiſlative council.

The qualifications to be a member of the general aſſembly are—a reſidence in the county for at leaſt a year, and a property of five hundred pounds, or thirteen hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third.

The qualifications of a member of the legiſlative body are—a ſimilar reſidence, and a property, real or perſonal, of one thouſand pounds.

The qualifications of an elector are—to be twenty-one years of age, to be reſident for a year in the county, and to poſſeſs a fortune of fifty pounds.

The legiſlative council, as well as the aſſembly, can propoſe and modify any laws, except thoſe relative to the finances, which they have the power merely of confirming or rejecting.

The governor is elected by the legiſlature; and the conſtitution preſcribes no qualification of age, fortune, or any other, for that office;—it ſimply ſays, that the legiſlature ſhall elect a proper perſon to fill it.

The duration of the functions of the two houſes of the legiſlature, and of the governor, is one year.

The ſame perſon may be elected governor as often as the legiſlature chuſes to appoint him.

The legiſlative council is the governor's executive council; three members form a ſufficient number to exerciſe with him the executive functions. The governor unites the functions of preſident of the executive council, chancellor, and commander of the forces: he can, with the advice of the executive council, grant pardons, even of high treaſon.

The council is alſo a court of appeal from the deciſions of the courts of law; but the council

must,

muſt, in this caſe, conſiſt of at leaſt ſeven members, with the governor.

The nomination of the judges, the ſuperior officers of the militia, the juſtices of the peace, the attorney-general, and the ſecretary of ſtate, is made by the council. All other officers are elected by the counties, except the officers of militia, who are choſen by their companies.

The judiciary ſtate conſiſts of a ſupreme court, a court of common pleas, and juſtices of the peace. The judges of the ſupreme court are choſen for ſeven years; the others for five; and they may be re-elected. An impeachment againſt them is made by the legiſlature, and judged by the council.

Uncontrouled liberty of conſcience is granted by the conſtitution; which even declares, that no tax can be impoſed for ſupporting public worſhip, repairing churches, &c.

The conſtitution gives the accuſed the ſame privilege of producing teſtimony in his favour, as is allowed to the accuſer againſt him.

The conſtitution declares, that the property of ſuicides is not forfeited to the ſtate, but ought to paſs to their heirs, as in caſes of natural death; nor does the inſtrument by which the death was inflicted become, as in England, the property of

the ſtate. In general it conſirms the Engliſh laws, where they are not revoked.

Full liberty of bequeathing is given; and in reſpect of wills there is no alteration of the Engliſh law, except the addition of ſome ſimple forms, required to conſtitute their validity.

The property of perſons dying inteſtate is divided into three parts; one-third to the widow, and the other two divided equally among the children, or their repreſentatives;—in default of children, the widow enjoys one half, and the other half is diſtributed among the neareſt relations. If a perſon die inteſtate after the death of his father, and leave no widow or child, his fortune is divided equally between his brothers, his ſiſters, and his mother.

According to a law of 1792, marriages may be performed by a miniſter of the church, or by a juſtice of peace, in the option of the parties. The marriage inſtrument muſt be ſent to the ſecretary of the county, and regiſtered in a book, which is evidence in the courts.

Divorces, which formerly were granted by the legiſlature, are now pronounced by the court of chancery, in virtue of a law of 1794. They are granted in caſes of adultery—repeated bad treatment—deſertion for ſeven years—and alſo in caſes where the marriage has been contracted between perſons

perſons within the degrees of propinquity prohibited by the laws of the ſtate.

Every impriſoned debtor may, by a law paſſed in 1795, be ſet at liberty by the court of common pleas, upon his ſurrendering all his property, according to a declaration made by him before that court, except ſome very trifling furniture for him and his wife. If his declaration be proved falſe, he is puniſhed with the pains of perjury. If, after his ſentence of liberation, it can be proved, that in his declaration he has concealed any part of his effects, ſuch effects are to be made over to his creditors, beſides his being puniſhed. But the property which he may acquire after his diſcharge is not ſubject to be claimed by his creditors.

By the criminal code, reviſed in 1796, the puniſhment of death is confined to perſons convicted of high treaſon, premeditated murder, and attempts to reſcue from priſon thoſe accuſed of capital crimes. All other crimes are puniſhed by greater or leſs fines, and a longer or ſhorter ſolitary confinement. It is the legiſlation of Pennſylvania a little ſoftened. A law of the laſt ſeſſion has directed the erection of a priſon, on the model of that of Philadelphia, where ſimilar works are to be eſtabliſhed.

The negro ſlaves are ſubject to the ſame laws, and tried before the ſame tribunals. The courts

may order them to be whipped, inſtead of being impriſoned. The pain of death is not inflicted on a maſter for the murder of his ſlave; but in that caſe, or where he wounds him ſeverely, he is puniſhed by fine and impriſonment. There is no reſtriction upon ſlavery in the ſtate of Jerſey, nor is there any law yet made to put an end to it; but a law of 1788 directs, that all ſlaves under the age of twenty-one years be taught to read, charges their maſters with this duty, ſubjecting them, in caſe of neglecting it, to a fine of twelve dollars and a third. The introduction into the ſtate of other ſlaves is forbidden, by a clauſe in the ſame law.

The highways are repaired in this ſtate by the labour of the inhabitants, but may, in their option, be converted into money.

The ſtage coaches belonging to Philadelphia and New York, are ſubject to a duty to the ſtate of Jerſey, for the repairs of the roads through which they paſs.

The poor-laws are the ſame as in moſt of the other ſtates. Poor-houſes are eſtabliſhed in ſeveral counties, and relief is alſo given to paupers at their houſes, under the direction of inſpectors of the poor.

The law for the obſervance of Sunday is here equally ſtrict as in New England. Every inhabitant

bitant has a right to arreſt a traveller who is going any where but to a place of worſhip, and carry him before the officers of juſtice. The ſtage coaches are not to travel upon a Sunday, under pain of being ſeized; but this law, although of a recent date, is only executed in the other ſtates where it is promulgated. They travel through Jerſey on Sunday, in the ſame manner as on other days; and even the public ſtages, which do not travel during the morning ſervice, are not interrupted during the reſt of the day, more than if this prohibitory law did not exiſt. The ſame is the caſe in reſpect to the laws againſt gaming and drunkenneſs. Laſtly, there has been paſſed, in the beginning of this year, an act againſt horſe-racing; which in all probability will be put in execution no more than the other two, as it would claſh too much with the habits of the people; and becauſe, were the public officers even to be moſt ſtrictly watchful, there would be ſo many ways to evade their vigilance. Will men never then leave off making impracticable laws, or allowing laws not executed to be in force! Governments do not ſufficiently conſider, that there cannot be a more certain way of deſtroying the morals of a people; for the firſt point of morality, eſpecially among a free people, is an entire obedience to the law, and to all the laws.

The ſtate of Jerſey encourages thoſe works which have for their object the facilitating communication by inland navigation and bridges, and alſo for the erection of the college; and for theſe they allow lotteries, which are otherwiſe prohibited in the ſtate. Every inhabitant who purchaſes a ticket in a lottery not ſanctioned by a law of the ſtate, and even in the lotteries of other ſtates, may be carried before the magiſtrates, and puniſhed by a fine.

A law of New Jerſey, paſſed in 1794, authoriſes any foreigner, belonging to a power at peace with the United States, to acquire and poſſeſs property in the ſtate, as if he were a citizen. This privilege ceaſes at the end of 1799, but it will undoubtedly be renewed.

The laws of the ſtate impoſe taxes on lands cultivated and uncultivated; houſes, and the lots on which they are built, not exceeding ten acres; forges, furnaces, mills of every kind, tan-works, paſſage-boats, ſhips, fiſheries, horſes, and cattle; and laſtly, merchants keeping ſhops, and batchelors, either keeping horſes and ſlaves or not. Carriages of every kind were alſo taxed before the beginning of the preſent year, when a law was made to aboliſh that duty.

All theſe objects of taxation are valued from time to time at a certain rate by the legiſlature; the lands by a ſcale of degree according to their

fertility

fertility and ſituation. The valuation is every where low.

An aſſeſſor, appointed annually by each townſhip, demands of every inhabitant a declaration of his taxable property, and makes up a ſtatement of it. Any perſon refuſing to give ſuch declaration, or giving a falſe one, may be charged by the aſſeſſor double what he eſtimates may be the tax of the perſon refuſing.

Horſes and cattle are taxed at the ſame rate throughout all the ſtate. The taxes upon licences, ſlaves, &c. never vary, and are called ſpecific taxes.

On a day appointed, all the aſſeſſors for the county meet, and bring with them the ſtatements of the taxable property of their ſeveral townſhips. The amount of the ſpecific taxes payable in the county is then calculated, and the difference between theſe and the ſum required from the county is aſſeſſed upon the different townſhips, according to the opinion of the majority of the aſſeſſors. The detailed ſtatement of theſe aſſeſſments, ſigned by each aſſeſſor, is tranſmitted to the collector for the county.

Each aſſeſſor then gives to the collector of the townſhip a ſtate of the ſums he is to collect. A ſimilar liſt is ſent to the collector for the county, to be by him laid before the legiſlature.

Three proprietors, named by the general aſſembly of each townſhip, are the judges of appeal to whom the perſons taxed have a right to apply.

If the collector do not receive the tax in the courſe of a month after demanding it, he makes a complaint to a juſtice of the peace, who grants a warrant to ſell the defaulter's goods, to the amount of the tax and charges.

The collector for the townſhip pays the amount of the money received by him into the collector for the county, who pays into the treaſurer of the ſtate the amount of the money received from all the collectors of townſhips in the county.

The law has provided againſt the negligence and diſhoneſty of the collectors, by making the townſhips and counties who chuſe them, reſponſible for the monies received by them.

The aſſeſſors receive for their trouble one and three quarters per cent of the ſums they aſſeſs: the collectors for townſhips have the ſame allowance. This three and a half per cent is levied with taxes of the townſhip. The commiſſioners of appeal are paid a dollar for every day they are employed. The collectors for the counties receive a penny in the pound, or the two hundred and ſortieth part of the ſums they pay into the treaſury of the ſtate, and ſix-pence a mile for travelling

velling expences. They are paid by the treaſurer.

The taxable articles, according to the low valuation of the particulars by the legiſlature, amounted, in 1794, to three millions four hundred and fourteen thouſand eight hundred and eighty two dollars.

The taxes are paid regularly and promptly in the ſtate of Jerſey.

The expence of government amounts yearly to about twenty-ſeven thouſand dollars. In 1796 the ſtate ſtill owed one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, but from the additional taxes and ſome other reſources, this debt will probably be entirely extinguiſhed in four years.

According to a ſtatement of the balance of the debts between the different ſtates by the commiſſioners of Congreſs, the State of New Jerſey is a creditor to the Union in forty-nine thouſand dollars.

The articles on which the county taxes are raiſed are the ſame as for the ſtate taxes.

POPULATION AND INSTRUCTION.

The population of the State of New Jerſey was, according to an enumeration made in 1791, one hundred and eighty-four thouſand one hundred and thirty inhabitants, including eleven thouſand four

four hundred and twenty-three ſlaves. Its extent is calculated at about eight thouſand four hundred miles ſquare, which gives ſomewhat more than twenty-two inhabitants to the mile ſquare. The increaſe of population in this ſtate is inconſiderable, there being a good deal of emigration. Habit more than neceſſity induces this, for the quantity of uncultivated land is yet conſiderable; it is in general capable of raiſing good crops, and the price is not high. We may perhaps conſider as one great cauſe of this emigration, that New Jerſey is peopled from all nations, whence there is among the inhabitants leſs of a national ſpirit towards the ſtate, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, than in any other part of the United States. Beſides, theſe people of different nations, ſettled in Jerſey, live more in ſeparate diſtricts than in any other of the ſtates; and when there is any emigration from a particular diſtrict, it generally conſiſts of a number of families.

There can be no where leſs attention paid to education than there is in Jerſey. The legiſlature of the ſtate have never yet taken it into their conſideration. Some ſchools are kept in certain townſhips at the expence of ſuch of the inhabitants as chuſe to contribute to them. The number of theſe is not conſiderable. They pay poor ſalaries to the maſter, who of courſe is ignorant and

and negligent. Thus no people in the United States appear to me more ignorant than the inhabitants of Jerſey; and, although the ſtate has, as I have already mentioned, a good college at Princetown, and ſome of the inhabitants are men of merit and underſtanding, the proportion of perſons of education is much leſs here than in any other of the ſtates.

Toleration in religion being unbounded in New Jerſey, all ſorts of ſects are eſtabliſhed, and have places for worſhip; but the Preſbyterians are by far the moſt numerous.

Few of the families in Jerſey make cloth or linen for their uſe; they purchaſe almoſt all they want. The facility with which they can procure foreign goods from New York and Philadelphia contributes no doubt, to this defect of domeſtic economy in the people of the ſtate.

COMMERCE.

Although in Jerſey is ſituated Amboy, one of the beſt ports in the United States, acceſſible from the ſea, and by a ſingle tide to all ſorts of veſſels, it has no foreign trade. Its vicinity to New York and Philadelphia induces its inhabitants to get every thing from theſe cities. The communication with them is at once eaſy and ſecure. The ſale of their produce is more certain

tain and quick, the price better, the choice of returns greater, and the credit longer; and, laſtly, old cuſtoms: ſuch are the reaſons which have always rendered fruitleſs the attemps of the legiſlature of Jerſey to attract merchants to Amboy and enlarge its trade. The country furniſhes corn of all kinds, plenty of wood, lintſeed, iron, leather, ſalt-meat, and is particularly famous for hams. In the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia are raiſed much poultry, and they cultivate a great quantity of pulſe; but a very ſmall portion of all theſe articles of produce is exported from Amboy. A number of the veſſels loaded with it deſcend the Rariton, paſs before Amboy, and proceed with their cargoes to New York.

The value of the exports from Amboy, in 1791, was ſeventeen thouſand four hundred and three dollars; in 1792, it was nineteen thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve dollars; in 1793, it was forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three dollars; in 1794, it was fifty-eight thouſand one hundred and fifty-four dollars; in 1795, it was one hundred and thirty thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen dollars; and, in 1796, it was fifty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine dollars.

The ſtate has three other ſmall ports where there

there are cuſtom-houſes; Burlington, on the River Delaware; Bridgetown, on the bay of that name; and Great Egg Harbour, on the ſea coaſt; but none of them has any thing of what may be called trade. It often happens that in a whole year there does not ſail from them one foreign veſſel. This may be ſeen from the total exports of New Jerſey, in which are included thoſe of Amboy, whereof I have given the amount. The whole of theſe exports amounted, in 1791, to twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred dollars; in 1792, to twenty-three thouſand four hundred and five dollars; in 1793, to fifty-four thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight dollars (the three ſmall ports exported nothing); in 1795, to one hundred and thirty thouſand eight hundred and fourteen dollars; and, in 1796, to fifty-nine thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſeven dollars.

PATERSON FALL.

The fall of the River Paſſaik, about twenty miles from New York, is one of the moſt noted in North America. It ſhould be viſited by all thoſe who admire natural curioſities. The courſe of that river through rocks, which it has rent in precipitating itſelf from a height of ſixty-ſix feet, preſents a grand ſpectacle. From the appearance of the ſoil there ſeems formerly to have been two courſes, but which by ſome convulſion in nature have

have fallen into one. At the fall it is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide. On the day I viſited it the ſun ſhone bright; the weather was hot, the wind pretty high; all which circumſtances combined to give great beauty to this magnificent ſcene. There is an agreeable view from the upper part of the fall over a tolerably well cultivated plain.

The little town of Paterſon is built at the foot of the fall. It contains a variety of machinery, but all in a ſtate of decay. In 1791 a company was formed for their eſtabliſhment, but its funds were ſoon conſumed, indeed before they were completed. A lottery was granted by the State of Jerſey to aſſiſt it, but was not attended with ſucceſs. They talk of new efforts. Certainly no ſituation can be better adapted for all kinds of machinery.

This town was called Paterſon, after WILLIAM PATERSON, formerly governor of New York, and who is at this day one of the judges of the ſupreme court of the United States. He is one of the moſt reſpectable and enlightened men in the country. He was appointed by the legiſlature of New Jerſey to revive and publiſh their code of laws. The law which conferred upon him the commiſſion, gave him even a power to alter the criminal laws, and to him is owing the reform in the penal code which I have mentioned.

The

The ſtones that form the baſon into which the river falls are moſtly ſandy. There is a kind of hard granite very common in all the plain, lying in a compact bed of baſaltes. The flints that are found in the bottom of the fall, being the fractures of the rocks above, are of the ſame nature. The river below the fall runs through a flat and marſhy country, and in conſequence its courſe is very ſlow and undulating.

I waited upon Mr. Paterſon at New York, where I remained a conſiderable time. In the following book I ſhall give the obſervations which I collected reſpecting that great ſtate, the ſecond of the Union for riches, for the ſpirit with which it is cultivated, and for the extent of its commerce.

STAY AT NEW YORK,

IN AUGUST, 1797.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK.

THE ſtate of New York belonged originally to the Dutch. It is true, that before that ſome plans were formed to coloniſe this country, but they were very vague.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, had, in 1584 granted to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, a patent to occupy, under the ſovereignty of the crown of England, all the country of North America, not in the poſſeſſion of any other Chriſtian Prince.

James the Firſt, diſregardleſs of that patent, divided this immenſe poſſeſſion, then known under the name of Virginia, and which extended from Carolina to Nova Scotia, between two companies. To the former, called *The Company of London Adventurers*, he granted the right to eſtabliſh colonies, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-

firſt

firſt degree of latitude; and to the other, *The Plymouth Company*, a ſimilar privilege, from the forty-firſt to the forty-fifth degree. But the lands thus granted, and even their coaſts, were then in a great meaſure unknown.

HENRY HUDSON, in a veſſel belonging to the Dutch India Company, firſt diſcovered Long Iſland, and aſcended the great northern river, to which he gave his name. The Dutch, ignorant of the grants made of theſe countries to the two companies, and paying no regard to it, declared themſelves the ſovereigns; in 1614 they ſent there a colony, which built the towns of Fort Orange and New Amſterdam, calling the country itſelf New Holland.

James the Firſt having ſent ſome forces to lay waſte the new ſettlements, the Dutch proprietors preferred to a hopeleſs reſiſtance the more ſafe and prudent meaſure of acknowledging the Engliſh ſovereignty, thus preſerving their poſſeſſions, on payment of a tribute to England.

The troubles of that kingdom, during the latter part of the reign of Charles the Firſt, enabled the Hollanders to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, which indeed they had repeatedly before attempted. They ſucceeded alſo in deſtroying a Swediſh colony, ſettled upon the Delaware. But

aſtewards Charles the Second ſent troops from Europe, who without difficulty ſeized New Holland, and expelled from thence the Dutch, who on their part proceeded to invade Surinam. Charles the Second, having thus got peaceable poſſeſſion of this vaſt territory of the continent of North America, granted the weſtern part of it to his brother the Duke of York, and New Holland got the name of New York, New Amſterdam alſo changing its name for that of New York; and this extenſive province reached from the banks of the river St. Laurence to the mouth of Hudſon's River, without encroaching upon the limits of the Plymouth Company.

Such is briefly the hiſtory of the province of New York, up to the late revolution.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

This province was much longer than any of the other colonies in beginning their oppoſition to England. Its great commercial connections with that kingdom, and the circumſtance of Engliſh troops being conſtantly ſtationed in the town of New York, ſupported a ſpirit of ariſtocracy and dependence. At length it followed the example of the other ſtates; and its legiſlature, aſſembled

aſſembled at Kingſton, formed, in 1777, a conſtitution, upon the ſame principles with thoſe of the other ſtates.

This conſtitution is neither introduced nor followed up by any declaration of rights; and its preamble, which recites the different acts of the general congreſs, ſeems to be rather an excuſe for that conſtitution, than the effervescence of liberty and reſentment, which appear to have dictated almoſt all the others. Each county names one or more members of the aſſembly of repreſentatives. The conſtitution fixes their preſent number at ſeventy; it alſo determines proviſionally the number to be elected by each county. A new enumeration is to be made every ſeven years; and when the number of electors is in any county increaſed one-ſeventeenth part, ſuch county is to return an additional deputy. The whole number is never to exceed three hundred; and precautions are taken in that event to proportion the number of members of each county to the exceſs of population. The members of the aſſembly are choſen for one year.

The electors muſt be twenty-one years of age —muſt poſſeſs a clear property of twenty pounds, or fifty dollars; or rent property in the county to the amount of forty ſhillings, or five dollars a

year at leaſt—muſt pay taxes to the ſtate, and reſide in the county.

The ſenate, by the conſtitution, is compoſed of twenty-four members; but this number is only fixed temporally, like that of the members of the houſe of aſſembly.

The members of the ſenate are choſen by diſtricts, the ſtate being in this view divided into four. The number of ſenators which each of theſe diſtricts is to elect, is alſo determined by the conſtitution. When on the new enumeration there is found an increaſe of a twenty-fourth part in the population of the diſtrict, ſuch diſtrict is to appoint one more ſenator, and ſo on, till the ſenate conſiſts of one hundred members, which number it is never to exceed. The ſenators are elected for four years, and a fourth part of them is annually renewed.

The electors for the ſenators muſt be freeholders, and poſſeſs a clear property of the value of a hundred pounds, or two hundred and fifty dollars. The liſt of electors of both claſſes amounted, in 1795, to ſixty-four thouſand and ſeventeen.

The electors who have the qualification required for voting for members of the ſenate, alſo elect the governor and lieutenant-governor; but in theſe elections they vote by counties.

The

The legiſlature aſſembles annually the firſt Tueſday in January; but it may be called together oftener by the governor, and it can adjourn itſelf.

The governor and lieutenant-governor are choſen for three years.

The governor is commander of the forces both military and naval: he may grant pardons of every ſentence, except in capital caſes, where he can only ſuſpend the execution, until the matter be finally determined by the legiſlature. The nominations to offices, civil and military, are made by the council of appointment, at which the governor preſides. This council is compoſed of four members of the ſenate, one from each diſtrict; they are appointed every year by the aſſembly, and cannot be named two years ſucceſſively.

If the governor ſhould be abſent on any account, the lieutenant-governor takes his place: he is preſident of the ſenate.

The chancellor, the judges of the ſupreme court, and the chief judge of every county, are named by the council of appointment. They continue in office during their good behaviour, but never after they are ſixty years of age.

The ſheriffs and coroners are appointed annually,

nually, and cannot continue in office more than four years. The military commiſſions are revocable at pleaſure.

The governor has power to refuſe his conſent to laws, with the advice of the council of reviſion, which is compoſed of the chancellor and the judges of the ſupreme court. But ſuch refuſal muſt be given in the courſe of ſix days; and the bill muſt be ſent back, accompanied with the reaſons of refuſal, ſigned by the members of the council. The bill, notwithſtanding this refuſal, becomes a law, if two-thirds of each houſe perſiſt in it. The bills approved by the council are returned to the houſe from which they proceeded, with the ſubſcription of the governor only.

The members of the council of reviſion receive no ſalary nor allowance for that function. Their ſittings muſt be during the ſeſſion of the legiſlature.

The treaſurer of the ſtate and of the counties are appointed by the legiſlature.

The conſtitution guarantees the grants of land made by the kings of England previous to the month of October 1775, and annuls all thoſe made ſince that period.

The electors for the nomination of the preſi-

dent

dent and vice-preſident of the United States, are, by a law of the 12th of April 1792, choſen in the ſtate of New York by the two houſes of the legiſlature.

TAXES.

The taxes in the ſtate of New York are impoſed in the groſs by the legiſlature, and afterwards aſſeſſed by it upon the different counties, according to the value of the properties reſpectively contained in them.

That firſt diviſion being made, the inſpectors of each townſhip meet by counties, and determine, after the ſame rule, the part to be raiſed by each townſhip.

The inſpectors and the aſſeſſors make in each townſhip a ſimilar diviſion among the individuals; and for this purpoſe, they are by law directed to inform themſelves of the amount of the property, moveable and immoveable, of every perſon. The taxes being thus aſſeſſed, they are levied by the collectors, and remitted by them to the treaſurer of the county, who pays the ſame to the treaſurer of the ſtate.

No object of taxation is ſpecified in the laws; no principle preſcribed for valuing property; no means taken to obtain from the individuals a declaration of their property; whence the aſſeſſment of the taxes by the legiſlature, the inſpectors and

and the aſſeſſors, can be determined only by an arbitrary eſtimate of the general and relative riches of corporations and individuals.

The following is the manner in which they annually proceed to make the aſſeſſment.

In the month of April every year the inhabitants of the different townſhips elect an inſpector, from three to ſeven aſſeſſors, and one or more collectors.

Every inhabitant choſen to theſe functions muſt accept of them, or pay a fine.

The aſſeſſors meet, after having taken an oath for the faithful diſcharge of their duty; they make an eſtimate of the property of each inhabitant, diſtinguiſhing real from perſonal property, and ſet down ſuch eſtimate in a liſt, which is ſigned by the majority of them, and tranſmitted to the inſpectors before the end of May, under the penalty of a fine of twenty-five pounds, or ſixty-two dollars and a half, to the uſe of the county.

The inſpectors of each county meet the laſt Thurſday in May, and from that eſtimate of the aſſeſſors they aſſeſs the tax upon the different townſhips, adding to the tax of the ſtate that neceſſary for the expences of the county, and the maintenance of the poor in every town. The ſtatements are ſent by the inſpectors to the collectors of every diviſion, with an order to levy

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the taxes conformably to them. From the firſt of the money raiſed, the amount of the ſums ordered for the ſupport of the poor is paid to the inſpectors of the poor of each town; and the remainder, including the part required for the taxes of the ſtate, is paid into the hands of the treaſurer of the county.

The county treaſurers are appointed by the inſpectors of taxes, and muſt give ſecurity.

The orders for levying ſent by the inſpectors to the collectors, authoriſe them to ſell the effects of the perſons taxed in caſe of non-payment; and in default of moveable property, the produce of their lands.

When the collector is in arrears, the treaſurer of the county directs an order to the ſheriff to ſell his property, real and perſonal, to the amount of the value of the taxes unaccounted for. He is however acquitted of this penalty, on ſatisfying the treaſurer of the county, upon oath, of his not having been able to obtain the payments.

When the ſtate has impoſed taxes for its uſe, the treaſurers of counties are, before the end of March, to ſend the amount of this part of the taxes to the treaſurer of the ſtate, with the reaſons for any deficiency in the levy, in default of which the ſame ſteps are to be purſued as againſt collectors in arrear.

It

It is the duty of the county inſpectors, at their annual meeting, to examine the deficiency in the levy of taxes impoſed the preceding year; and if, notwithſtanding the report of the collectors, the inſpectors are of opinion, that the perſons who have not made good their payments are able to do ſo, they are intitled to direct anew ſuch levy.

If they approve of the reports of the collector, or if they are ſatisfied of the inſolvency of the collector himſelf, they add an additional ſum to the amount of the deficiency, for the townſhip which has not made good its payment, and the ſums firſt levied the year following are appropriated to make up ſuch deficiencies in the former year's taxes.

The allowances made to the inſpectors and their clerks, and to the aſſeſſors, are included in the annual county rates. The collectors are intitled to deduct five per cent from the amount of their collection. The ſheriff receives two and an half per cent of the ſums he levies upon the collectors in default. The treaſurer of the county has a commiſſion of three quarters per cent on the ſums received.

The total expence for the aſſeſſment and collection of taxes in the ſtate of New York, is eſtimated

mated at from fifteen to twenty per cent of the ſums levied.

There has been no tax for the ſtate ſince 1788; it was that year fifty thouſand dollars, three fourths of which was paid into the treaſury the firſt year; the reſt was not completely paid in two years.

As to the taxes neceſſary for the expences of the counties, they are annually fixed at a meeting of all the inſpectors of each townſhip and town, and are impoſed, upon the ſame principle with thoſe of the ſtate, at ſo much a pound of the eſtimated value.

The poors rate is regulated at the ſame meeting, on the report of the inſpectors of the poor named by the inhabitants; but each town ſupports its own; and the ſtate has, in order to prevent the ſettlement of the poor in their territory, or their change of reſidence from one town to another, enacted laws, which are in ſome meaſure, but not entirely, free from the faults of the Engliſh poor-laws.

The few poor there are in the ſtate are to be found chiefly at New York, which, like all great towns in the different parts of the world, contains at once more riches and more wretchedneſs than towns leſs populous and commercial, and ſtill more ſo than in the country.

THE

THE CIVIL LAWS.

The laws relative to inteſtates at New York, as in all the other ſtates of America, divide the property equally among the children, after allowing a third to the widow; but the liberty of bequeathing is in this ſtate, as well as the others, reſerved entire; and the manners, eſpecially in the great cities, and among the rich, are not in this reſpect ſo republican as the laws.

The roads are made altogether by the labour of the inhabitants of the townſhip through which they paſs. Every individual is obliged annually to contribute twenty days labour, or more, on the roads. The commiſſioners are directed to proportion juſtly the number of days, according to the circumſtances of the perſons who are to contribute. Perſonal labour is commutable for money, at the rate of half a dollar a day. The uſe of a carriage and horſes is received as an equivalent for three days labour. The juſtices of the peace are the head inſpectors of the highways, and determine queſtions reſpecting them. Individuals who make roads at their own expence, and for their own uſe, may erect gates on them. The townſhips are divided into highway diſtricts, for the more eaſy execution of this law, which was made in 1784. In certain caſes where there

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is an extraordinary public advantage, or any particular difficulty in forming roads, as well as in other circumſtances, the ſtate gives ſome aſſiſtance. In ſpite of theſe laws, the roads in general are very bad in this ſtate.

There are in the ſtate of New York no bankrupt laws; but there is a law reſpecting inſolvent debtors, which is nearly the ſame thing. This law was made in 1788, and has ſince received ſome trifling and immaterial alterations.

Every debtor, who cannot or will not pay his debts, may be impriſoned by the courts of juſtice; and he cannot be liberated from priſon, but upon a petition of three-fourths of his creditors to the court of chancery, the ſupreme court, or other court in the ſtate.

Thoſe of his creditors whoſe debts are ſecured by any mortgage, cannot concur in ſuch petition. The court to which the petition is addreſſed may decree the priſoner's diſcharge, upon taking his oath that he has given a juſt account of his effects and debts, and that his petitioning creditors claim no more than the exact amount of the debts due to them.

In the priſoner's declaration of his property real and perſonal, and the releaſe he executes of it, are compriſed all effects which he may ſucceed to by inheritance; but the judgment pronounced of

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his liberation, diſcharges from all claim the property which he may thereafter otherwiſe acquire.

There are great complaints in the ſtate of New York of this law, as very unjuſt. An honeſt debtor, who has become inſolvent from misfortune, remains for a ſeries of years, often all his life in priſon; he is not liberated, but perhaps from the neglect of his creditors to pay his ſubſiſtence, and then he is in a ſtate of wretchedneſs; while the fraudulent debtor gives a falſe ſtatement of his property, conceals part of his diſpoſable effects, and falſely putting down as creditors his friends, who are made to form the three-fourths of his creditors, he preſents a petition for his enlargement, obtains it, and then freely enjoys that part of his fortune of which he has defrauded his real creditors.

The law, it is true, appoints puniſhment by fine, for perſons appearing falſely as creditors; but that proof is never to be got. Unfortunately, in this, as in other caſes, a debtor who is a raſcal is better off than one who is honeſt and unfortunate.

They talk much of amending this law; but it ſtill exiſts, and is extremely injurious to trade, morality, and virtue.

The laws of New York do not allow foreigners to acquire landed property; for this it is neceſſary

to

to be a citizen of the ſtate, or of the United States. The legiſlature however grants, without much difficulty, exceptions to this general prohibition, and there are few ſeſſions in which ſuch grants are not made to foreigners. In other reſpects, the right of citizenſhip is eaſily acquired.

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

The criminal juriſprudence of the ſtate of New York was, until laſt year, the Engliſh law in all its rigour. The example of Pennſylvania has, however, prevailed over ancient cuſtom; and in the laſt ſeſſion the legiſlature has reformed it, after the mild and reaſonable code of that ſtate.

Premeditated murders, and robberies committed in churches, are at preſent the only crimes puniſhable with death. The latter part of this law affords rather a painful conſideration—that in a ſtate which allows all religions to be equal, where every one is at liberty to contribute or not as he thinks proper, to the ſupport of any kind of worſhip, and where robberies, even made with an armed force in dwelling-houſes, were only puniſhable by impriſonment, this great additional ſeverity ſhould have been made againſt robbery in churches. A remnant of the barbarous prejudice, which proves the influence of prieſts, could alone rank this ſpecies of robbery with premeditated

ditated murder. Had reaſon been conſulted, it could only have been claſſed with ordinary robbery in a dwelling-houſe; indeed it is undoubtedly leſs dangerous in all its conſequences, than a robbery in an inhabited houſe, there being nothing to ſteal in churches but benches and prayer-books. But in the ſtate of New York, as elſewhere, opinion is more powerful than law; and the conſequence is, that criminals guilty of this kind of robbery are generally acquitted by the juries, who think it their duty to be more juſt than the act, which is thus rendered a dead letter; all reſpect due to the law is thus taken away, which proves its impropriety.

There are ſome other laws of this ſtate to which ſimilar obſervations will apply. Such, for example, is that paſſed in 1788, that condemns every perſon who gets drunk to pay a fine of three ſhillings, and to ſtand in the pillory for two hours, and inflicts a fine of ſix ſhillings for every oath; another law of the ſame date, which forbids travelling on Sunday, under a like penalty of ſix ſhillings; and laſtly, an act of the ſame year, which inflicts a penalty of five times the ſum loſt on every perſon loſing at play more than twenty-five dollars in the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

An old eſtabliſhed government might find ſome pretext for not revoking obſolete laws, which are not

not and cannot be executed, but there is no excuſe for a legiſlature to make new laws of that deſcription. Governments are yet too little perſuaded that public order can reſt only on the moſt abſolute obedience to the law. A ſingle law allowed to remain unexecuted, gives a great ſhock to reſpect for the laws, and when its not being executed proceeds from its execution being impoſſible, from the manners, opinions, and other circumſtances, it is the legiſlators who are to blame, that the law loſes the veneration neceſſary to it in a well-eſtabliſhed order of ſociety.

The new criminal code of the ſtate of New-York, enacted in 1796, directs that two ſtate priſons ſhall be built, one at New York and the other at Albany, and preſcribes their regulations, which are nearly the ſame as thoſe of the priſon of Philadelphia. The expence of erecting and ſupporting them is to be defrayed by the ſtate.

SCHOOLS.

The legiſlature of New York has alſo, in 1795, made a ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of free ſchools in its territory; but little has yet been done, nor does there appear any certainty that they ever will be eſtabliſhed.

Twenty thouſand pounds, or fifty thouſand dol-

lars, are annually appropriated to the funds of the ſtate, " to encourage and ſupport, in the different towns and townſhips of the ſtate of New York, ſchools in which children ſhall be inſtructed in the Engliſh language and grammar; in arithmetic, mathematics, and other moſt neceſſary and uſeful branches of knowledge, ſo as to furniſh a complete Engliſh education."

Each county, according to its known population, receives a part of this ſum, in the proportion regulated by the legiſlature. The inſpectors of each county ſubdivide among the different towns the proportion allotted to the county. Each town muſt add, for the ſame purpoſe, from a tax raiſed among themſelves, a ſum equal to half of what it receives from the ſtate.

The mayors, aldermen, and municipalities of the towns of New York, Albany, and Hudſon, are the head inſpectors of their towns, and may, as they judge moſt proper, apply the ſums collected to this purpoſe, either in ſupporting the ſchools already eſtabliſhed, or the charity-ſchools, or in the eſtabliſhment of new ſchools. The ſame powers are given in the townſhips to the head inſpectors of the ſchools, who are elected by the freeholders.

Two commiſſioners for each ſchool, choſen in the

the ſame manner as the inſpectors, are to ſuperintend the management of the ſchools, the appointment of maſters, &c.

This ſum of twenty thouſand pounds given annually, is only for five years. The eſtabliſhment of free-ſchools is not preſcribed by the law; and the admiſſion of negro children, or thoſe of colour, even in the charity-ſchools, is left to the diſcretion of the head inſpectors.

The eſtabliſhment of free-ſchools through all the ſtate, an object ſo truly deſirable, and the advantage of which is inconteſtibly proved by the example of Maſſachuſetts, is not then a neceſſary conſequence of this liberal donation of the legiſlature of New York. Some are eſtabliſhed; elſewhere the ſums are applied to the improvement of the ſchools already exiſting, and which are of no utility but to thoſe in eaſy circumſtances; laſtly, the children of ſlaves, and even of free negroes, have not a right to that education, which would be the firſt ſtep towards their ſolid, their uſeful emancipation. This law then is far from uniting all the advantages to be expected from a great ſtate, engaged in the important object of the education of youth, and making ſacrifices to that object. What a difference between this law and that of New England upon the ſame ſubject!

Another law of 1796, which, like that reſpect-

ing ſchools, is meant to facilitate public education, incorporates the ſocieties formed in different counties and towns for the eſtabliſhment of public libraries. This law gives the legiſlative ſanction to ſuch eſtabliſhments, but does not grant one ſhilling of the ſtate's money to promote them.

SLAVERY.

The ſtate of New York is not one of thoſe which appear to have the moſt liberal ideas as to ſlavery. It is therefore natural, that the laws, which in every country follow more or leſs the public opinion, ſhould alſo in this reſpect be rather illiberal.

It is eaſy to conceive why, in the ſouthern ſtates, the great number of ſlaves render their emancipation difficult, and why this difficulty gives a pretence for the opinion of the neceſſity of ſevere laws againſt ſlaves; but in the ſtate of New York, where in a population of more than four hundred thouſand ſouls, there are not twenty thouſand negroes, it is impoſſible to conceive what ſo great obſtacles there can be to the emancipation, and upon what they can found their opinion, that on account of this trifling number of negroes there is a neceſſity for more rigorous laws againſt them than againſt perſons of another colour.

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Be this as it may, a law, ſo late as 1788, confirms the ſtate of ſlavery in every negro, mulatto, and meſtee, who was a ſlave at the time of its enactment; declares every child born, or to be born of a female ſlave, to be a ſlave; authoriſes the ſale of ſlaves, and ſubjects them for petty crimes to be tried by juſtices of the peace, who may ſentence them to impriſonment or whipping. One clauſe of the act ſubjects them to this trial, and to this kind of puniſhment, for ſtriking a white perſon, without any exception in the caſe where the white man is the aggreſſor. The privilege of a trial by jury is, however, allowed to a ſlave, if the crime of which he is accuſed be capital. He is alſo permitted to adduce evidence in criminal caſes, where other negroes are implicated.

The new criminal code, founded in general on principles of humanity and juſtice, does away none of the truly unjuſt and barbarous enactments of that law. At the ſame time, ſlaves are generally treated with greater mildneſs by their maſters in the ſtate of New York, and leſs oppreſſed with labour, than they are in the ſouthern ſtates. The manners, in this reſpect, prevail over the rigour of the laws; but the manners are here, as in many of the other American ſtates, impregnated with avidity and avarice. This diſpoſition alone pre-

vents the abolition of ſlavery. It has been frequently propoſed in the legiſlature; but hitherto every meaſure, even of a preparatory nature, has been rejected. Although the diſproportion of free men to ſlaves is ſo great, that the greater part of the inhabitants of New York poſſeſs no ſlaves, the ſmall number of thoſe who do poſſeſs them are the richeſt and greateſt proprietors; and in the ſtate of New York, as elſewhere, ſuch perſons have the principal influence.

The reſpect due to *property* is the arms with which every propoſal for their enfranchiſement is combated. I have heard one of their moſt enlightened lawyers, a gentleman who in all other reſpects entertains the moſt liberal opinions, inſiſt, "that it would be an attack upon property, to declare even the children of female ſlaves free; for (ſaid he) the maſters who have purchaſed or inherited ſlaves, poſſeſs them under the idea that their *iſſue* ſhall be their property, which they can employ or diſpoſe of."

Thus, while in Virginia they aſſert, "that it is impoſſible to aboliſh ſlavery, without exporting at once all the negroes in the ſtate,"—in New York they ſay, "that it cannot be thought of to aboliſh ſlavery, or take any ſteps with that view, without paying to every proprietor of a ſlave the preſent value of their negroes, young and old,

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and the eſtimated price of their expected deſcendants." This is certainly throwing every poſſible obſtacle in the way of the abolition of ſlavery, and ſhewing themſelves fairly inimical to ſuch a meaſure.

The obſtacle preſented by the citizens of New York is the leaſt difficult to conquer. Admitting the principle of the neceſſity of an indemnification to the maſters for their negroes, on their being made free, and valuing each negro at one hundred and thirty dollars, the whole amount would be only three millions of dollars. This price would ſtill bear reduction, from the powerful motives of public intereſt and honour, to which every member of ſociety muſt make ſacrifices.

The queſtion of the property of children unborn would not take a quarter of an hour to diſcuſs, if it were agitated in the legiſlature; laſtly, this enfranchiſement, if made as it ought to be, by degrees, would coſt the ſtate much leſs ſacrifices; and being done in ſucceſſion, it would be almoſt imperceptible in their finances, which, beſides, could certainly not be more worthily employed.

At New York, as elſewhere, the enfranchiſement of the negroes ought to have for its end the advantage of the ſtate, its good order, and the benefit

nefit even of the negroes to be made free. Were this meaſure too quickly and ſuddenly general, it would fail as to different objects of the firſt neceſſity. I ſhall not here repeat what I have obſerved in another place in that reſpect, and what ſo many others have ſaid before me. The expence to the ſtate then would be reduced to a very ſmall ſum, in compariſon to the utility and the duty of the meaſure. But while the ſtate of New York, ſurrounded with the examples of Connecticut, Maſſachuſetts, and Pennſylvania, does nothing towards this liberation, but ſeems to approve of the permanence of ſlavery by the ſilence or the refuſal of its legiſlature, it leaves its conſtitution and its laws ſtained with a blot which, without exaggeration, may be called diſhonourable, as it cannot be excuſed, or even palliated, by any circumſtances exiſting in that ſtate.

The exportation of foreign ſlaves into the ſtate of New York is prohibited by the ſame law which confirms the ſlavery of thoſe who were in the ſtate at the time of its enactment. This diſpoſition therefore in that law, and the mild manner in which the ſlaves are here generally treated, is a confirmation of the opinion, that pecuniary intereſt, more than a real approbation of ſlavery, prevents the legiſlature from proceeding in this reſpect with that juſtice and judgment with which

which their other deliberations are for the moſt part conducted.

THE MILITIA.

A law of 1793, paſſed in conſequence of the militia law of the United States, regulates the formation and the government of the militia of the ſtate of New York. It is diſtributed in four diviſions, one for each of the grand diſtricts of the ſtate. Each of theſe diviſions is commanded by a major-general, and ſubdivided into different brigades, each brigade into different regiments, and theſe again into companies. The number of theſe corps is left at the diſcretion of the commander in chief (the governor of the ſtate), who is guided in this reſpect by the population of the different diſtricts and counties. A company of artillery and a troop of cavalry is attached to each brigade.

The militia are to aſſemble three times in the year; twice by companies, and once in their regiments. The companies of artillery and cavalry are embodied on the orders of the major-general of the diviſion.

Courts martial, for the cognizance of military offences, are ordered by the governor, the general officers, and the major generals of the diviſions, and alſo by the field officers of regiments, &c.

ſity, the college, the hoſpital, ſchools, and caſualties, exceeds this ſum.

The ſtate ſtill owes two hundred and twenty-five thouſand dollars, moſtly treaſury-bills granted during the war. In this ſum is not included the debt due to the United States, which the commiſſioners of accounts have aſcertained to be two millions ſeventy-four thouſand eight hundred and forty-ſix dollars; and it appears that the State of New York is leſs diſpoſed to pay than any other of the United States debtors.

TRADE.

Of all the towns on the continent, New York is beſt ſituated for trade. It is the only port in the ſtate, and is one of the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing in America.

All the produce of the ſtate is brought to New York by water-carriage, as well by the river as by canals, which the legiſlature are unremittingly employed in completing, and which will eſtabliſh a free communication between Lake Ontario and this port. Another intended canal is to run from Lake Champlain and Hudſon's River, by which the productions of Lower Canada will be conveyed directly to New York. The length of this canal will not exceed eighteen miles;

miles; it is to terminate at South Bay, which communicates with Lake Champlain.

New York alſo receives, by its noble river, all the productions of that part of Maſſachuſetts, ſituated on the weſt of the Green Mountains, and of that part of the ſtate of Vermont, which is in the ſame tract.

The impoſſibility which the State of Connecticut finds of extending its commerce for the want of a ſufficient capital and good ports, adds to the trade of New York all that of Connecticut. New York is alſo the place of exportation of moſt of the proviſions from New Jerſey, as well as of the importation neceſſary for this ſtate, which, as we have already ſeen, carries on little or no trade at its fine port of Amboy.

None of the ſtates is more rapidly increaſing than New York. All its new lands, to the weſt of Albany, along and behind the Mohawk River, which were not formerly inhabited, are peopling very faſt. The immenſe country, extending from the Mohawk River by the Wood Creek, as far as Lake Ontario, and which has, at different times back, been purchaſed by companies on ſpeculation, begins to be divided and cleared. In that ſtill larger tract, which runs to the ſouth of Lake Oneida, as far as the boundaries of Pennſylvania, there are a number of ſettlements ſtill farther advanced.

vanced. Geneſſee, which was in a manner a deſert four years ago, is peopling beyond every expectation; and all the immenſe territory of the State of New York is now inhabited, except a tract between the river Geneſſee and that of Niagara, which was acquired from the Indians only laſt month, and a ſmall part ſtill retained by the Indians, which they will ſoon be obliged to diſpoſe of to ſpeculators.

Theſe lands will be ſoon inhabited; they are good, ſome of them of the firſt quality; and the flats of the Geneſſee, which I ſpoke of in my journey in the year 1795, are at leaſt equal to the German flats along the Mohawk River, which has been conſidered the richeſt land in America. This country will be peopled by the inhabitants of New England, the moſt induſtrious, active, and enterpriſing of all the United States; and if, as is expected, the obſtructions in the navigation of the River Oſwego and Wood Creek were removed; if the canals projected, and already begun, to join Wood Creek and Mohawk River; and the canal to make Mohawk River, navigable as far as Albany, were completed; and if the ſand bank in Hudſon's River, ſix miles below this town, in the midſt of the iſlands called Overſlaugh, which at preſent prevents large veſſels from going up to Albany, were, as it is thought practicable,

practicable, cleared away, New York would enjoy a great part of the fur trade.

This year two ſmall ſloops have already made this voyage from Niagara. But what was to them a matter of labour, will undoubtedly be ſoon made eaſy for larger veſſels, and will add much to the proſperity of all the ſtates of New York, and particularly its capital.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the place of the greateſt trade in the United States. The amount of its exports in 1791 was two million four hundred and ninety-one thouſand and fifty-four dollars; in 1792 it was two million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand and ninety-five dollars; in 1793 it was two million nine hundred and eighteen thouſand three hundred and three dollars; in 1794 it was five million four hundred and thirty-five thouſand four hundred and twenty dollars; in 1795 it was ten million three hundred thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two dollars; and in 1796 it was twelve million two hundred and eighty-eight thouſand and twenty-ſeven dollars.

The articles of commerce are the ſame as in the other principal ports of the United States; and theſe, as well as in all the others, the re-exportation of the produce of the Antilles makes a great part of their exports. I have not been able

to procure equally ſatisfactory details in reſpect of the imports, exports, and tonnage of this great port as I obtained in ſeveral others; for having requeſted from Mr. WOLCOTT, ſecretary of the treaſury, a letter to the collector of the cuſtoms, by which means alone I could get the information, he ſaid that in the preſent political ſituation of the United States with France, ſuch compliance to a Frenchman was impoſſible: and although I ſaw in this the perſonal diſpoſition of the ſecretary of the treaſury, and that this ſtateſman did not wiſh to diſcloſe what he conſidered political ſecrets to one whom he looked upon in ſome degree as an enemy, I was obliged to ſubmit to his harſh anſwer. The value of the exports from the State of New York in 1788, was one million nine hundred and twenty-five thouſand dollars.

Potaſhes are more exported from New York than from any other port of the United States. That commodity is here, as in all the other ſtates, ſubjected to inſpection, and it is the only article that is always ſold for ready money. All the other articles of produce ſubject to be inſpected in the other ſtates are ſo in this. The examination of flour, although more ſtrict than in the ſouthern ſtates, is leſs ſo than at Philadelphia.

THE

THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the largeſt and beſt town in the United States. Theſe two cities rival each other almoſt in every reſpect. Philadelphia has hitherto had the advantage, but from the fine ſituation of New York there is reaſon to expect that ſooner or later it will gain the ſuperiority.

It is calculated that this city contains at preſent upwards of fifty thouſand inhabitants. There have been no leſs than four hundred and fifty new houſes built here in this preſent year. It is increaſed and beautified with unheard of quickneſs; a circumſtance owing, no doubt, in a great meaſure, to the immenſe benefit its trade has derived for theſe two or three years from the preſent ſtate of Europe. But if peace diminiſh, as it certainly will, their exceſſive profits, the extenſion of the cultivated lands and ſettlements in this vaſt territory, the produce of which will find, directly or indirectly, a vent by Hudſon's River, will inſure a ſolid foundation, independently of all foreign circumſtances, for the increaſing proſperity of the trade of New York. To all theſe advantages New York adds that of lying more to the eaſtward, and nearer to the ſea than any port in America, except Boſton; and it is never choaked

up with ice, although that part of the bay, which is formed by the mouth of the river and the ſea, is ſometimes frozen ſo hard as to make an eaſy communication on the ice between the city and the iſlands called Governor's and Staten Iſlands.

New York is built at the extremity of the iſland of Manhattan, now generally known by the name of New York Iſland. This iſland, which is fifteen miles long, and three broad at the wideſt part, is formed by Hudſon's River and Eaſt River, improperly ſo called, it being nothing elſe than an arm of the ſea, which ſeparates Long Iſland from New York Iſland and the continent. The firſt houſes of New York, then New Amſterdam, were built in 1614 by the Dutch. The Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1684, and retained it till 1783. It was the laſt town on the continent which they quitted.

In 1775, when it was evacuated by the American troops, the beſt part of the town, and that ſituated next the fort, was, as the Americans ſay, burnt by the Engliſh, and, according to the Engliſh, by the Americans.

This quarter of the city has been rebuilt ſince the peace, and is now one of the handſomeſt parts in it. The town had formerly been built without any regular plan, whence every where almoſt, except what has been rebuilt in conſe-

quence

quence of the fire, the ſtreets are ſmall and crooked; the foot-paths, where there are any, narrow, and interrupted by the ſtairs from the houſes, which makes the walking on them extremely inconvenient. Some good brick houſes are ſituated in theſe narrow ſtreets; but in general the houſes are mean, ſmall, and low, built of wood, and a great many of them yet bear the marks of Dutch taſte. The new part of the city built adjoining to Hudſon's River, and parallel with its courſe, is infinitely more handſome; the ſtreets there being generally ſtraight, broad, interſecting each other at right angles, and the houſes much better built. There is not in any city in the world a finer ſtreet than Broadway; it is near a mile in length, and is meant to be ſtill farther extended: it is more than a hundred feet wide from one end to the other. Moſt part of the houſes are of brick, and a number of them extremely handſome. From its elevated ſituation, its poſition on the river, and the elegance of the buildings, it is naturally the place of reſidence of the moſt opulent inhabitants. Broadway is terminated, at one end, by a handſome ſquare, in the front of which is the governor's houſe, built in a very good ſtile of architecture, upon the ſpot where the fort ſtood before the revolution. The demolition of this fort has alſo left between the go-

vernor's houſe and the river a large ſpace, which has been formed into a public walk, upon the banks of Hudſon's River, and from thence round to Eaſt River, commands a view as far as the narrows at the entrance of the roadſtead. Thus, in this promenade, the eye embraces at once all the outlets of this great port, and ſees all its ſhipping come in and go out. This walk, which is called the Battery, might undoubtedly be kept in better order, and be made more agreeable to the uſe it is intended for, by planting ſome trees, &c. but as it is, its ſituation makes it incomparably the moſt delightful public walk any where to be found.

The fortifications erected upon Governor's Iſland, to defend the entrance of the harbour, are partly of brick and partly of earth; they are in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. The works were begun three years ago, upon a very good plan, by M. VINCENT, a French engineer, and eighty thouſand dollars granted by congreſs have been already expended upon them; but it will take a great deal more to complete them; and this muſt be expended regularly, and without delay, which is ſeldom the caſe with works of this kind in the United States. It appears, however, evident to me, that to fortify the heights of Long Iſland, would be alone an effectual defence of the harbour

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of New York; at leaſt that it would be an indiſpenſable addition to its ſecurity, as there is nothing to prevent an enemy from landing in ſome places in that iſland; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of theſe heights, they might ſoon become maſters of New York, which they could eaſily deſtroy by their artillery.

New York was, till laſt year, the ſeat of the legiſlature of the ſtate, which has been ſince that time transferred to Albany. The building in which the legiſlature held its ſittings, and which contains alſo the courts of juſtice, is one of the moſt elegant, or, at leaſt, the moſt ſpacious in the city. It is, however, much inferior to the deſcriptions given of it in all the American Gazetteers.

There are here nineteen places of worſhip, belonging to different religions. Of theſe the Trinity Church and St. Paul's are the largeſt and moſt elegant. St. Paul's is the epiſcopal church. The biſhop, the miniſters, and the rector are paid from its revenues, which there, as in all the others in America, are increaſed by letting out the pews. The monument erected by order of congreſs to the memory of General Montgomery, who was killed at the ſiege of Quebec, in 1775, ſtands againſt one of the outſide walls of St. Paul's Church.

There are three markets at New York, but all of them ſmall and narrow, very much inferior to thoſe of Philadelphia, both in ſize, and in neatneſs and regularity. They are ſupplied from Jerſey, and, in a great meaſure, from Long Iſland. The nearneſs of the ſea makes the fiſh-market be better ſupplied here than at Philadelphia. All the trade of conſequence is carried on by Eaſt River, where likewiſe come the veſſels from Connecticut. It is only the veſſels belonging to Hudſon's north river that land their cargoes at the keys upon that river.

The water is, in general, bad at New York, although in ſome quarters it is leſs ſo than in others. There is a pump placed at the extremity of the city, where thoſe families that are not ſatisfied with the wells and common pumps, get their water. The ſpring which ſupplies this pump belongs to one of the inhabitants, and is by him let for twelve hundred dollars, to a perſon who is ſaid to ſell daily from fifteen to twenty thouſand gallons, and ſometimes more. This water is known in the town by the name of *tea water*.

But I have ſaid enough of this city. All the accounts which I could give of it would not equal the deſcriptions to be found in moſt of the American almanacks. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to a few words on its public eſtabliſhments.

HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC CHARITIES.

An hoſpital fit to contain a hundred and fifty patients, is ſupported at New York at the expence of the ſtate.

In this hoſpital are admitted all the poor inhabitants of New York, and even ſtrangers. An order, ſigned by one of the directors, is all that is required; and from the number of patients, which ſeldom exceed ſixty, it appears that this facility of admiſſion is not abuſed.

Thoſe patients who can afford it, pay to the inſtitution two dollars and a half weekly for their expences.

A ſkilful phyſician viſits the patients regularly once a day; and a young phyſician and an apothecary live in the houſe. The ſtudents who attend the phyſician in his viſits, pay, as at Philadelphia, a ſmall ſum towards forming a library. More attention ſeems to be paid here to the patients than at Philadelphia; or, at leaſt, the hoſpital is regulated ſo as to be of more benefit in the inſtruction of the pupils, and even of the phyſicians. A very correct journal is kept of the different diſeaſes, their management, the effect of the medicines, &c.

Upon the whole this hoſpital ſeems to be well managed, but the patients labouring under different

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ent diſorders are not kept ſufficiently apart, which is principally owing to the ſmall number of the ſick. The hoſpital having been burnt during the war, it has been rebuilt partly by ſubſcription, and partly by the public money. It is at this time ſupported altogether by the ſtate, who have endowed it with the ſum of twelve thouſand five hundred dollars paid annually by the treaſurer. The directors have applied for an augmentation of this ſum, which is required for the additions and ameliorations as well of the buildings as of the ground ſurrounding it. They will obtain this augmentation from the wiſe liberality of the legiſlature, which never refuſes uſeful and beneficial expences, although they might ſometimes employ them with more advantage and judgment than they have done.

The poor's-houſe is ſupported by a poor's-rate raiſed among the inhabitants of the city, and is under the direction of inſpectors of the poor. There, are generally from ſix to eight hundred paupers kept in this houſe beſides ſix hundred more who received aſſiſtance from it during winter. The building was erected laſt year, and coſt twenty-five thouſand pounds, or an hundred and thirty thouſand dollars. It is kept remarkably neat, and the poor well treated. A great number of theſe are infirm, decayed, and children, ſo

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that the only labour that can be expected from them is the kitchen-work, waſhing, ſewing, and working in the garden belonging to the houſe.

The annual expence of each pauper is calculated at forty pounds, or an hundred and fifty dollars. The annual poor's-rate amounts to thirty thouſand dollars, and is in proportion to one third of the whole taxes raiſed in the city in thoſe years where there is no extraordinary expence.

If a poor's-houſe be any where proper, it is undoubtedly in a great city, but, in my opinion, it is ſeldom a good inſtitution either in a political or charitable point of view. According to the acknowledgment of the inſpectors of the poor at New York, the poor-houſe of New York produces paupers.

It is aſtoniſhing, that we ſee nowhere in America the eſtabliſhment of benefit-clubs, where the working claſs might, by contributing a ſmall part of their earnings, ſecure to themſelves, in their old age, a ſupport ariſing from their economy, which would prevent that kind of ſhame ever attending the receipt of public charity, and would be, in its effects, as beneficial to the morals of the people as to the finances of the ſtate, and its true proſperity. Such inſtitutions ſhould therefore receive every public encouragement.

A numerous

A numerous ſociety, called the *City Diſpenſary*, provides alſo, by ſubſcription, for the relief of the indigent ſick, in providing them with medicines. A phyſician, a ſurgeon, and an apothecary, are appointed and paid by the ſociety to give their advice to the patients who attend there in virtue of an order from a member of the ſociety. In caſes of neceſſity they are alſo to viſit the poor at their own houſes, and to inoculate them if required. The ſubſcription is five dollars a year, which gives the member a right to have two patients at all times on the liſt; and a member may nominate more upon the additional payment of two dollars and a half for each. A ſubſcription of fifty dollars is the qualification of a member for life. This ſociety annually relieves from ſeven to eight hundred ſick. It is a kind of inſtitution common to all the large towns of the United States, and ſeems to be one of great utility.

At New York, as in all the great trading towns on the continent, there are a great number of priſoners for debt. A ſociety has been eſtabliſhed by voluntary ſubſcription, which provides amply for the wants of thoſe debtors who have no other recourſe to procure garments and bed clothes. The juries called in courts of law, who are allowed a ſhilling a day each for their attendance, generally

generally alſo give up this ſmall ſalary to the above purpoſe. The relief thus granted to the poor priſoners amounts annually to five or ſix hundred dollars.

There are ſeveral other charitable ſocieties eſtabliſhed at New York, all with a view of relieving the unfortunate, the ſick, and of different deſcriptions; each of which has its particular regulations.

This is the proper place to mention the relief granted by the ſtate and city of New York to the unfortunate coloniſts who eſcaped from St. Domingo, and which has been continued ever ſince the year 1793, when it was begun.

Immediately upon their arrival at New York, a ſubſcription was quickly raiſed for their relief, amounting to the ſum of eleven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four dollars, and ſince that time eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty dollars more have been granted by the legiſlature of the ſtate for the emigrant coloniſts. The ſtate of New York has had alſo the diſtribution of ſeventeen hundred and fifty dollars, as their proportion of fifteen thouſand dollars voted by Congreſs in 1794 with the ſame intention; ſo that the unfortunate coloniſts of St. Domingo have received from the ſtate of New York the ſum of twenty-four thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four

four dollars, or an hundred and thirty-two thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy French livres.

The benevolent ſpirit which induced the ſubſcription and vote for theſe ſums has alſo preſided at their diſtribution. Immediately on their arrival houſes were taken to receive thoſe moſt deſtitute of reſources; they were there ſupplied with food, clothing, and fewel; the leſs neceſſitous received a ſmall weekly allowance of from ſix to twelve dollars, according to the number of their family. By degrees theſe ſuccours became leſs neceſſary. France provided for the ſupport of a great number of families; a number of others, from time to time, returned to the colonies, or proceeded to France; but the ſtate of New York has never ceaſed to exerciſe its benevolence, and there now are raiſed funds to ſecure the French families in the city who are deſtitute of reſources, againſt the wants and ſeverity of the approaching winter. The diſtributors of theſe ſuccours have been LAWRENCE EMERY and RICHARD LARÆNER, both Quakers, who deſerve every praiſe, and the particular gratitude of all Frenchmen, for the goodneſs, the juſtice, and the unremitting attention with which they have diſcharged this honourable function. Richard Laræner is now the ſole agent, Lawrence Emery having been dead for theſe two years.

BANKS.

BANKS.

There are two banks eſtabliſhed at New York; one of theſe is a branch of the bank of the United States, and is conducted in the ſame manner, and under the ſame regulations, as the other branches of that bank; the other is the bank known by the name of the *New York Bank*. It was incorporated in 1791; its capital is nine hundred and fifty thouſand dollars, in nineteen hundred ſhares of five hundred dollars each. The rules and the buſineſs carried on by this bank are ſimilar to thoſe of the others eſtabliſhed in the United States, particularly in Pennſylvania. In its adminiſtration, and in all its tranſactions, it is abſolutely independent of the ſtate, which, by a particular regulation, may purchaſe as far as a hundred ſhares, but has no farther vote in the deliberations, than in proportion to its ſhares as an ordinary proprietor. This bank deſervedly enjoys the confidence of the public. Its dividends are about nine per cent per annum. The preſent value of ſhares is about twenty-five per cent above their original price.

PRISONS.

I have before mentioned that the criminal juriſprudence has been reformed in the ſtate of New

New York, and, with the exception of the crime of robbery in churches, has been made altogether ſimilar to that of Pennſylvania: that new ſyſtem neceſſarily produced the preſent regulation of priſons. The legiſlature of New York have been anxiouſly engaged in this particular, and in the conſtruction of a priſon at New York for ſtate convicts; and in the mean time, ſince paſſing the law, it has been ordered to delay building the priſon at Albany.

The new priſon at New York is already nearly finiſhed, and it is upon a very complete plan. Its walls incloſe four acres, and nothing is wanting in reſpect of ſecurity, extent, good air, diviſion of the different claſſes of priſoners, facility of ſuperintendence, and every other circumſtance neceſſary to this ſort of inſtitution, and will, without doubt, be one of the moſt perfect buildings of its kind. It may give ſome idea of the liberality of the legiſlature of New York in defraying expences for public utility, to ſtate that this priſon will coſt upwards of nine hundred thouſand dollars. It will not be entirely completed till the next year, but in the preſent year the chief of the lodging part will be finiſhed, and the *convicts* are to be removed thither in the courſe of a month.

This priſon is intended for that claſs of priſoners only; priſoners for debt, and thoſe committed

mitted by the police, being confined in ſeparate priſons. It were to be wiſhed, that it had been built within the city, from which it is about half a mile diſtant, as it would in that caſe have been in leſs danger of being forced from without, and the perſons in confinement reſcued. But the city of New York is extending ſo rapidly on that ſide, that in a very few years it is probable the priſon will not be thus inſulated: and even now it is not at ſo great a diſtance but aſſiſtance may be eaſily got when neceſſary.

The internal government of this priſon will be conducted, as at Philadelphia, under inſpectors, principally Quakers. One of thoſe, THOMAS EDDY, whoſe philanthropy, virtue, and zeal, merit equally the eſteem of the public, will render this inſtitution in no reſpect inferior to that of Pennſylvania. He is one of the moſt excellent of men, his firſt wiſh being to do good to others. In giving him this praiſe, I do not mean to detract from the merit of his coadjutors, who, he aſſures me, are animated with the ſame ſentiments as himſelf; but, as I happen not to be acquainted with them, I cannot ſpeak from my own knowledge.

The convicts are at preſent confined in the ordinary priſon, and are well ſuperintended: four or five of them are in the ſame apartment; but

they are not made to work, the place not permitting it. In the ſame range of buildings where the convicts are kept, is the houſe of correction, for women confined by order of the police. It is the old ſyſtem of the *Salpetriere* at Paris, in all its imperfections. I could not ſee, without horror, two or three girls, twelve years of age, arreſted as public proſtitutes; and one of them was there for the ſecond time. The vices of large cities are every where alike.

THE COUNTRY ABOUT NEW YORK.

The iſland of New York being the only place round the city that can be reached without croſſing water, the ground there has riſen to an enormous price. In this place the moſt opulent inhabitants of New York have their country ſeats. Among theſe, that of Mr. OLIVE is moſt diſtinguiſhed for its ſimplicity and taſte, and for its pleaſure-grounds, planted with all the European trees, reared with an attention very uncommon in America, and which is fully recompenſed by its ſucceſs. Mr. Olive's houſe is ſtill more remarkable for the truly patriarchal and hoſpitable life he there leads. He paſſes at this villa all the time he can ſpare from his buſineſs as a merchant, and has the happineſs to be, with one of the moſt accompliſhed of wives, ſurrounded by a charming

charming family. He is of the firſt rank among thoſe Frenchmen whom no private intereſt could induce to make them forget that of their country. The Americans allow, that this diſpoſition is more common among the French, than among any other people.

The ſoil is in general bad in the iſland of New York; it ſells however higher than any of the grounds in the environs of Philadelphia.

The land in Long-Iſland, which is the dearer in proportion to its vicinity to New York, is of a very inferior quality. In other reſpects, however, that iſland is extremely agreeable. The land, although very indifferent, is well cultivated, the market of New York furniſhing a certain and profitable vent for their produce. Yet towards the middle of the iſland there is a good deal of ground, of a light and dry ſand, that has been hitherto conſidered as unfit for cultivation. Although I went through the whole of this iſland, I do not conſider it ſufficiently intereſting to enter into any details reſpecting it, ſuch as I have given of my other journies. In a ſpace of four hundred miles ſquare, Long-Iſland contains, according to an enumeration made in 1790, thirty-eight thouſand two hundred and nineteen inhabitants, including four thouſand eight hundred and thirty-nine ſlaves.

THE MANNERS OF NEW YORK, AND NOTICES OF PERSONS INCIDENT TO THE SUBJECT.

Every thing is ſtill dearer at New York than at Philadelphia: the ſhops are not ſo well ſupplied, and the ſhopkeepers not ſo civil and obliging.

The manners are the ſame at New York as in the other large towns in America, throughout all the different claſſes of ſociety. In point of hoſpitality, the inhabitants hold a middle degree between thoſe of Philadelphia and thoſe of Boſton.

Their political opinions were more favourable to England two years ago than they are now; and it is at preſent doubtful whether Mr. Jay, who owes his election as governor of the ſtate to that diſpoſition, will be re-elected the enſuing year.

I had great pleaſure in again meeting here Mr. Hamilton, who, as I have already mentioned, is one of the moſt intereſting characters in America: he unites, to an enlarged underſtanding, a great degree of courage and firmneſs, with mild and extremely agreeable manners. It is generally thought, and apparently with ſome foundation, that he ſtrongly influenced, and even directed the conduct of General Waſhington in the laſt years

years of his preſidency. Mr. Hamilton is, more than any other of the federaliſt party, expoſed to the ill-will of the oppoſite party: he is a very eminent Barriſter at New York, and his profeſſional conduct is highly liberal. Born without a fortune, he quitted the office of ſecretary of the treaſury without a fortune, when the circumſtances of the conſolidation of the public debt, the extenſive ſales of land, &c. gave him immenſe opportunities of becoming rich, without the riſk of public cenſure, if he had choſen to profit by them; but a diſintereſtedneſs in pecuniary matters, every where rare, but particularly ſo in America, is a univerſally allowed trait in Mr. Hamilton's character; and I have been informed, by his clients, that their only conteſt with him is reſpecting the ſmallneſs of the fees he requires.

Colonel BURR, who is alſo one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the United States, for the extent, preciſion, and clearneſs of his judgment, for his acquired knowledge, and for the delicacy and generoſity of his ſentiments, and whoſe friendſhip I have enjoyed for theſe two years, made me acquainted with the aged General CLINTON, formerly governor of the ſtate of New York, who is now as ardent in his love of liberty as he was at the age of thirty; and as he has devoted himſelf during the whole courſe of

the revolution, and ſince that period, to eſtabliſh and preſerve the liberty of his country, he alſo has a number of enemies in the federaliſt party; but, from what I have ſeen, and from what I know of him, I conſider him a man of the moſt eſtimable character.

Another inhabitant of New York, whom I frequently met during my laſt ſtay there, where my intention of returning ſoon to Europe induced me to keep little company, is EDMUND LIVINGSTON, one of the moſt enlightened and eloquent members of the oppoſition party in congreſs. When the American politics, coming round towards England, reſtrained public expreſſions of attachment to the unfortunate Lafayette, whom they knew in fact more as the priſoner of George the Third, and under the influence of that monarch, than that of the Emperor, and prevented any attempts being made to looſen his chains; Edward Livingſton more than once raiſed his voice in congreſs, to engage them to take proper ſteps towards the deliverance of that unfortunate but eſtimable character, and to call the honourable attention of congreſs towards his ſon. Although Edward Livingſton is too young to have ſerved with Lafayette in America, and could have no particular tie to him, he ſaw in his cauſe that of the friends of liberty, that of America,

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and he has ſupported it with warmth. He has always been ſeconded by a number of his colleagues, and often by the majority; he would have been ſo by the whole, in any other ſtate of political diſpoſitions.

I ſhall be pardoned for adding the name of KOSCIOSKO to the liſt which I delight in commemorating. There is no heart friendly to liberty, or an admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name of Koſcioſko does not excite ſentiments of intereſt and reſpect. The purity and liberality of his intentions, the boldneſs of his undertakings, the able manner in which he conducted them, and the misfortunes and atrocious captivity which have been their conſequence, are too well known to require repetition. It is alſo well known, that Paul the Firſt ſignaliſed the commencement of his reign by the enlargement of this reſpectable ſufferer, whoſe impriſonment and barbarous treatment made every generous mind condemn Catharine, if the whole life of that infamous woman, blackened with crimes and vices, could be ſullied by an additional crime. In America, where he ſerved with diſtinction in the war of the revolution, has Koſcioſko come to ſeek an aſylum. He lodged, when I ſaw him, at the houſe of the brave General GATES, in whoſe army he was employed at

the memorable affair of Saratoga. The conſequences of his wounds, which ſtill prevent him from the free uſe of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement, have impaired his health, but it now begins to be re-eſtabliſhed. Simple and modeſt, he even ſheds tears of gratitude, and ſeems aſtoniſhed at the homage he receives. He ſees in every man who is the friend of liberty and of man, a brother. His countenance, ſparkling with fire, diſcovers a ſoul which no circumſtances can render dependent, and expreſſes the language of his heart, *Shall I never then fight more for my country?* He ſpeaks little, particularly on the misfortunes of his country, although the thought of theſe occupy his whole ſoul. In a word, elevation of ſentiment, grandeur, ſweetneſs, force, goodneſs, all that commands reſpect and homage, appear to me to be concentrated in this celebrated and intereſting victim of misfortune and deſpotiſm. I have met few men whoſe appearance ſo much excited in me that effect.

His young friend NIEMCEWICZ, who was wounded in the ſame battle with Koſcioſko, and, like him, was impriſoned in the dungeons of Catherine, has followed him to America, and devotes to him the fondeſt attentions of friendſhip. Niemcewicz is, from his noble ſentiments, the agreeableneſs of his manners, and the extent of

of his knowledge, a perſon particularly intereſting. He is ſaid to hold the firſt rank among the poets of his country.

After having ſeen both theſe great men as often as I could, I left them, with a ſincere wiſh for the happineſs of their country, which was returned with an equal wiſh on their part in behalf of mine.

GENERAL

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING given a ſketch of the conſtitutions and principal laws of the union, I have now to ſpeak of the federal government, which exerciſes a ſovereign power over the whole, and forms the bond which unites them together.

The political character of the times gives a degree of importance to this part of my work that belongs to no other; were it not, indeed, abſolutely neceſſary to render the notions of my reader more diſtinct and perfect reſpecting the United States and their ſeveral governments.

SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1797.

Early in the American revolution, and in the midſt of the dangers of that war it occaſioned, a congreſs was held of deputies from each of the ſtates, who, ſitting together in one chamber, formed the government of the union. The only bond which connected the ſeveral ſtates, at this period, was the common cauſe in which they were engaged; and the general confidence was the

the ſole authority of the congreſs. But ſo imperious were the circumſtances in which they acted, and ſo perfect the zeal of their conſtituents, that the orders they iſſued, many of which exceeded their authority, were promptly and ſcrupulouſly obeyed. The congreſs thus ſtrengthened with the public opinion accompliſhed many great objects; it levied armies; raiſed extenſive loans; formed important alliances; maintained the war with vigour; and proclaimed the independence of the country.

The articles of confederation which were not adopted till 1781, gave the congreſs a more extenſive authority; but one that was ſtill very limited, and, in many reſpects, incomplete. By thoſe articles it had authority to require of the different ſtates the money neceſſary for the war, and the expences of the union; but it was totally deſtitute of all means for coercion on the ſtates, or even individuals, who ſhould refuſe to bear their portion of the public burthens; and all regulations of commerce, however general, were left to the ſeveral ſtates.

At the peace, zeal and confidence abated with the abſence of the dangers that gave them birth. The congreſs found the limits of its authority too narrow; it was deſtitute even of power to execute its own laws; and was, on that account, unwilling

unwilling to paſs many that were neceſſary. The inadequacy of the government to its object was felt in every direction; the ſeveral ſtates neglected to fulfil engagements made by the congreſs, in the name of the whole, to pay debts contracted for the war; the paper of the congreſs was depreciated; credit exiſted no longer; and commerce languiſhed. England laid heavy duties on the importation of the produce of the American ſtates. Some of the ſtates, it is true, impoſed heavy duties on Engliſh goods; but that meaſure was not general, and, in the condition of the country, the expedient was prejudicial to the ſtates by whom it was adopted.

It was in the midſt of theſe and other calamities, and with a deſign of applying a remedy to them, that the Convention of Annapolis, and afterwards that of Philadelphia, were convoked.

This laſt convention framed the conſtitution which at this day exiſts in the United States. Although it is already well known, I will here ſet it down entire and in its own words. A conſtitution is a thing of which a perfect idea is not formed from a mere abſtract; and a complete idea of the American conſtitution is neceſſary to comprehend what I have to ſay concerning the debates on this conſtitution, and the oppoſition it had to encounter.

CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh this conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1ſt. All legiſlative powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a congreſs of the United States, which ſhall conſiſt of a ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives.

Sect. 2d. The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall be compoſed of members choſen every ſecond year by the people of the ſeveral ſtates; and the electors in each ſtate ſhall have the qualifications requiſite for electors of the moſt numerous branch of the ſtate legiſlature.

No perſon ſhall be a repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States; and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that ſtate in which he ſhall be choſen.

Repreſentatives and direct taxes ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral ſtates which may be included

included within this union, according to their reſpective numbers, which ſhall be determined by adding to the whole number of free perſons, including thoſe bound to ſervice for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other perſons. The actual enumeration ſhall be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the congreſs of the United States, and within every ſubſequent term of ten years, in ſuch a manner as they ſhall by law direct. The number of repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, but each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one repreſentative; and until ſuch enumeration ſhall be made, the ſtate of New Hampſhire ſhall be entitled to chooſe three, Maſſachuſetts eight, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York ſix, New Jerſey four, Pennſylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland ſix, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the repreſentation of any ſtate, the executive authority thereof ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies. The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall chooſe their ſpeaker and other officers, and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3d. The ſenate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of two ſenators from each ſtate, choſen

choſen by the legiſlature thereof, for ſix years; and each ſenator ſhall have one vote.

Immediately after they ſhall be aſſembled, in conſequence of the firſt election, they ſhall be divided as equally as may be into three claſſes. The ſeats of the ſenators of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the ſecond year; of the ſecond claſs at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third claſs at the expiration of the ſixth year; ſo that one-third may be choſen in every ſecond year; and if vacancies happen by reſignation, or otherwiſe, during the receſs of the legiſlature of any ſtate, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legiſlature, which ſhall then fill up ſuch vacancies.

No perſon ſhall be a ſenator who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States; and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the ſtate for which he ſhall be choſen.

The vice-preſident of the United States ſhall be preſident of the ſenate; but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The ſenate ſhall chooſe their other officers, and alſo a preſident, *pro tempore*, in the abſence of the vice-preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of preſident of the United States.

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The ſenate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the preſident of the United States is tried, the chief juſtice ſhall preſide; and no perſon ſhall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members preſent.

Judgment, in caſes of impeachment, ſhall not extend further than to a removal from office, and a diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, truſt, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall be nevertheleſs ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment, according to law.

Sect. 4th. The times, places, and manner of holding election for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof; but the congreſs may at any time by law, make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the place of chooſing ſenators.

The congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once every year, and ſuch meetings ſhall be on the firſt Monday of December, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5th. Each houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications for its own members, and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may

may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of abſent members, in ſuch a manner, and under ſuch penalties as each houſe may provide.

Each houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as in their judgment may require ſecrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either houſe, on any queſtion, ſhall, at the deſire of one-fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither houſe, during the ſeſſion of congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

Sect. 6th. The ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall, in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and the breach of peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective houſes, and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for

any ſpeech or debate in either houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No ſenator or repreſentative ſhall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emoluments whereof ſhall have been encreaſed during ſuch time; and no perſon holding any office under the United States ſhall be a member of either houſe during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7th. All bills for raiſing revenue ſhall originate in the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate may propoſe or concur with amendments, as on any other bills.

Every bill which ſhall have paſſed in the houſe of repreſentatives, and the ſenate, ſhall, before it becomes a law, be preſented to the preſident of the United States; and if he approve, he ſhall ſign it, but if not he ſhall return it, with his objections, to that houſe in which it originated, who ſhall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconſider it. If, after ſuch re-conſideration, two-thirds of that houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other houſe, by which it ſhall alſo be re-conſidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that houſe, it ſhall become

come a law. But in all ſuch caſes the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the preſident within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the congreſs, by their adjournments, prevent its return, in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, may be neceſſary, except on a queſtion of adjournment, ſhall be offered to the preſident of the United States; and before the ſame ſhall take effect, ſhall be approved by him, or, being diſapproved by him, ſhall be repaſſed by two-thirds of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

Sect. 8th. The congreſs ſhall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and exciſes; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts, and exciſes, ſhall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral ſtates, and with the Indian tribes;

To eſtabliſh the uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures;

To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States;

To eſtabliſh poſt offices and poſt roads;

To promote the progreſs of ſciences and uſeful arts, by ſecuring, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries;

To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court;

To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences committed againſt the laws of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque, and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To

To raiſe and ſupport armies; but no appropriation of money for that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for the calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, ſuppreſs inſurrections, and repel invaſions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia; and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, reſerving to the ſtates reſpectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the diſcipline preſcribed by congreſs;

To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict, not exceeding ten miles ſquare, as may by ceſſion of particular ſtates, and the acceptance of congreſs, become the ſeat of government of the United States; and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlature of the ſtate in which the ſame ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: and to make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary to carry into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this conſtitution

ſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof.

Sect. 9th. The migration or importation of ſuch perſons, as any of the ſtates now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the congreſs prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, or when the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex poſt facto* law ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation or other direct tax ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the cenſus or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any ſtate.—No preference ſhall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one ſtate over thoſe of another; nor ſhall veſſels bound to or from one ſtate, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United

United States; and no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate.

Sect. 10th. No ſtate ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, *ex poſt facto* law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any ſtate on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch laws ſhall be ſubject to the reviſion and controul of the congreſs.—No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, lay duty on tonnage; keep troops, or ſhips of war, in time of peace; enter into any engagement or compact with another ſtate, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unleſs actually invaded, or in ſuch imminent danger as will not admit delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sect. 1ſt. The executive power ſhall be veſted in a preſident of the United States of America; he ſhall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-preſident choſen for the ſame term, be elected as follows.

Each ſtate ſhall appoint, in ſuch manner as the legiſlature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of ſenators and repreſentatives to which the ſtate may be intitled in the congreſs: but no ſenator or repreſentative, or perſon holding an office of truſt or profit under the United States, ſhall be appointed elector.

The electors ſhall meet in their reſpective ſtates, and vote by ballot two perſons, of whom one at leaſt ſhall not be an inhabitant of the ſame ſtate with themſelves. And they ſhall make a liſt of all perſons voted for, and the number of votes for each; which liſt they ſhall ſign, certify, and tranſmit, ſealed, to the ſeat of government of the United States, directed to the preſident of the Senate. The preſident of the ſenate ſhall, in the preſence of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, open all the certificates, and the votes ſhall then be counted.

The perſon having the greateſt number of votes ſhall be the preſident, if ſuch a number be a majority

jority of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have ſuch majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the houſe of repreſentatives ſhall immediately chooſe, by ballot, one of them for preſident; and if no perſon have a majority then from the five higheſt on the liſt, the ſaid houſe ſhall, in the like manner, chooſe the preſident. But in chooſing the preſident the votes ſhall be taken by ſtates, the repreſentations from each ſtate having one vote; a quorum for this purpoſe ſhall conſiſt of a member or members from two thirds of the ſtates, and a majority of all the ſtates ſhall be neceſſary to a choice. In every caſe, after the choice of the preſident, the perſon having the greateſt number of votes of the electors ſhall be the vice-preſident. But if there ſhould remain two or more who have equal votes, the ſenate ſhall chooſe from them, by ballot, the vice-preſident.

The congreſs may determine the time of chooſing the electors, and the day on which they ſhall give their votes; which day ſhall be the ſame throughout the United States.

No perſon except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be eligible to the office of preſident; neither ſhall any perſon be eligible to that office who ſhall not have attained

tained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a reſident within the United States.

In caſe of the removal of the preſident from office, or of his death, reſignation, or inability to diſcharge the powers and duties of the ſaid office, the ſame ſhall devolve on the vice-preſident, and the congreſs may by law provide for the caſe of removal, death, reſignation, or inability, both of the preſident and vice-preſident, declaring what officer ſhall then act as preſident, and ſuch officer ſhall act accordingly, until the diſability be removed, or a preſident ſhall be elected.

The preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall neither be increaſed or diminiſhed during that period for which he ſhall have been elected, and he ſhall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do ſolemnly ſwear, or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the office of preſident of the United States, and will, to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect, and defend the conſtitution of the United States."

Sect. 2d. The preſident ſhall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and

and of the militia of the ſeveral ſtates; when called into the actual ſervice of the United States, he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices, and he ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment.

He ſhall have power, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the ſenators preſent concur; and he ſhall nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate ſhall appoint ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, judges of the ſupreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whoſe appointments are not herein otherwiſe provided for, and which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by law. But the congreſs may, by law, veſt the appointment of ſuch inferior officers, as they think proper, in the preſident alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of the departments.

The preſident ſhall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the receſs of the ſenate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion.

Sect. 3d. He ſhall, from time to time, give to the

the congreſs information of the ſtate of the Union, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both houſes, or either of them, and in caſe of diſagreement between them, with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper; he ſhall receive ambaſſadors, and other public miniſters; he ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4th. The preſident, vice-preſident, and all civil officers of the United States, ſhall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treaſon, bribery, or other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

Article III.

Sect. 1ſt. The judicial power of the United States ſhall be veſted in one ſupreme court, and in ſuch inferior courts as the congreſs may, from time to time, ordain and eſtabliſh. The judges, both of the ſupreme and inferior courts, ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour, and ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for their ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office.

Sect.

Sect. 2d. The judicial power ſhall extend to all caſes in law and equity, ariſing under this conſtitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their authority; to all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters and conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to diſputes to which the United States ſhall be a party; to diſputes between two or more ſtates; between a ſtate and citizens of another ſtate; between citizens of the ſame ſtate claiming lands under grants of different ſtates; and between a ſtate or the citizens thereof and foreign ſtates, citizens or ſubjects.

In all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, and thoſe in which a ſtate ſhall be party, the ſupreme court ſhall have original juriſdiction. In all the other caſes before mentioned the ſupreme court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction, both as to law and fact, with ſuch exceptions, and under ſuch regulations as the congreſs ſhall make.

The trials of all crimes, except in caſes of impeachment, ſhall be by jury; and ſuch trials ſhall be held in the ſtate where the ſaid crimes ſhall have been committed; but when not committed within any of the United States, the trials ſhall be

be at ſuch place or places as the congreſs may by law have directed.

Sect. 3d. Treaſon againſt the United States ſhall conſiſt only in levying war againſt them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No perſon ſhall be convicted of treaſon, unleſs on the teſtimony of two witneſſes to the ſame overt act, or on confeſſion in open court.

The congreſs ſhall have power to declare the puniſhment of treaſon, but no attainder of treaſon ſhall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the perſon attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sect. 1ſt. Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each ſtate to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other ſtate. And the congreſs may by general laws preſcribe the manner in which ſuch acts, records, and proceedings ſhall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2d. The citizens of each ſtate ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in each of the ſeveral ſtates.

A perſon charged in any ſtate with treaſon, felony, or other crime, who ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in another ſtate, ſhall, on demand of the executive authority of the ſtate from which

which he has fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of the crime.

No perſon held to ſervice or labour in one ſtate, under the laws thereof, eſcaping into another, ſhall, in conſequence of any law or regulation therein, be diſcharged from ſuch ſervice or labour, but ſhall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labour may be due.

Sect. 3d. New ſtates may be admitted by the congreſs into this Union, but no new ſtate ſhall be formed or erected within the juriſdiction of any other ſtate; nor any ſtate be formed by the junction of two or more ſtates, or parts of ſtates, without the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſtates concerned, as well as of the congreſs.

The congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular ſtate.

Sect. 4th. The United States ſhall guarantee to every ſtate in this union a republican form of government, and ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and on application of the legiſlature,

giſlature, or of the executive power, when the legiſlature cannot be convened, againſt domeſtic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congreſs, whenever two-thirds of both houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this conſtitution, or, on the application of the legiſlatures of two-thirds of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall call a convention for propoſing amendments, which in either caſe ſhall be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this conſtitution, when ratified by the legiſlatures of three-fourths of the ſeveral ſtates, or by conventions of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be propoſed by the congreſs: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no ſtate, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the ſenate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States under this conſtitution, as under the confederation.

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This conſtitution, and the laws of the United States, which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges in every ſtate ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſenators and repreſentatives before mentioned, and the members of the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall be bound by oath or affirmation to ſupport this conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the convention of nine ſtates ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution, between the ſtates ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in the convention, by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates preſent, the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, preſident, and deputy of Virginia.

Deputies of	
New Hampſhire.	John Langdon.
	Nicolas Gilman.
Maſſachuſetts.	Nathaniel Gorham.
	Rufen King.
Connecticut.	William Samuel Johnſon.
	Roger Sherman.
New York.	Alexander Hamilton.
New Jerſey.	William Livingſton.
	David Brearly.
	William Paterſon.
	Jonathan Dayton.
Pennſylvania.	Benjamin Franklin.
	Thomas Miflin.
	Robert Morris.
	George Elymer.
	Thomas Fitz-Simons.
	Jared Ingerſoll.
	James Wilſon.
	Governor Morris.
Delaware.	George Reed.
	Gunning Bedford, jun.
	Richard Baſſet.
	Jacob Brown.
Maryland.	James Mac-Henry.
	Daniel St. Thomas Jonifer.
	Daniel Caroll.

Virginia.

Deputies of	
Virginia.	John Blair.
	James Maddiſon, jun.
North Carolina.	William Blount.
	Richard Dobbpaight.
	Hugh Williamſon.
South Carolina.	John Rutledge.
	Cha. Coteſworth Pinckney.
	Charles Pinckney.
	Peter Buttler.
Georgia.	William Feer.
	Abraham Baldwin.

Atteſted WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

STATE OF PARTIES AT THE TIME OF PROPOSING THE NEW CONSTITUTION TO THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA.—DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION.

The conſtitution did not paſs without warm debates; but as the ſtruggle was occaſioned as much by the views and paſſions of the different parties that agitated America, as by the advantages or defects of the conſtitution itſelf, I think it right, before I ſpeak of theſe debates, to ſay a word of the ſtate of parties at that period.

Although there was a perfect accord among

the friends of the revolution during the war, many of the Americans, and eſpecially of the inhabitants of the towns, were not of that number. Many who oppoſed the ſtamp-act, expreſſed leſs repugnance to the tea-act. There were many even of thoſe who concurred in the oppoſition to that laſt act, who wholly diſapproved of the meaſures of defence for which America prepared on the arrival of the troops from England. Finally, there were opponents, both in and out of congreſs, to the declaration of independence, that great and deciſive meaſure, which alone formed the ſafety of the United States, by placing them in the neceſſity of conquering, or giving up every thing for which they contended. Many of the opponents of independence threw themſelves, one after another, into the arms of the Tories, who, under the influence of England, were exerting all their powers to defeat the revolution. Others, although they could not oppoſe the will of the majority of the country, gave it a very lukewarm ſupport; and theſe latter, who called themſelves the moderate party, were viewed with equal diſſatisfaction and miſtruſt by each of the other two.

When the revolution was effected, its partiſans, without difficulty, were reconciled to the moderate party, whom the ſucceſs of the revolution

tion had already brought over to them; and the Tories were for ſome years the only objects of the hatred of the reconciled parties.

Succeſs begets clemency in a nation, as well as among individuals, and conſequently a diſdain of the oppoſition of their enemies, which indeed is a ſecond and not a mean triumph to the conquerors. The Tories were in time viewed with leſs diſlike. In ſome inſtances their confiſcated eſtates were reſtored to them; in others, they were permitted to enter on their eſtates, on repaying the purchaſe-money to the preſent poſſeſſors, which in general was ſmall: thoſe who were baniſhed were ſuffered to return to their country, and all theſe took the oath to maintain independence; and thenceforth the diſſentions of the revolution ſeemed to be for ever healed.

The converſion, however, of many of theſe, was far from being ſincere; and, if among the converts ſome have ſteadily maintained the independence of the United States, they certainly were not the majority.

Peace was no ſooner concluded, than the United States fell into the greateſt diſtreſs. The debts due from the merchants to England, the payment of which had been prohibited by the congreſs during the war, were now impatiently demanded. The American merchants were al-

moſt univerſally ſued, and the remnant of their effects ſeized, by the agents of Engliſh houſes. To relieve their diſtreſs, they proceeded againſt the retailers, who had been unable to pay them during the war, and who, at this time, had as little power of ſatisfying their demands. The greater part of the merchants were ruined; and, being compelled to abandon their commercial concerns, they gave place to new adventurers, who were chiefly Engliſh, and moſt of them agents of the Engliſh creditors. So widely did this ruin extend, that at this day there are not among the American merchants one in fifty who was engaged in commerce, even ſo lately as the year 1783.

The ſeveral ſtates had themſelves contracted debts for the war. Some of theſe, willing to fund their debts, impoſed taxes for the purpoſe, which were ſo far beyond the means of the inhabitants that they could not be levied without extreme rigour: merchandiſe, cattle,—in fine, all kinds of effects, were almoſt univerſally ſeized, while very ſmall and ineffectual levies were obtained. The extremities to which government proceeded in theſe caſes, occaſioned general diſcontents, and were the cauſe of inſurrections in Maſſachuſetts, New Hampſhire, and Rhode-Iſland.

The paper money, both of the Union and the

ſeveral

ſeveral ſtates, was depreciated to the loweſt point, and inundated America. The embaraſſments of commerce, and in ſome caſes its utter ruin, the natural conſequence of this ſtate of things; the inability of the laws to enforce the taxes of the different ſtates, and even thoſe of the congreſs; a ſpirit of jealouſy and rivalry among the ſeveral ſtates; the incoherency of their ſeveral commercial regulations, and its deplorable conſequences; the inadequacy of the congreſs to produce unanimity, or to apply any remedy to theſe complicated evils—produced ſomething little ſhort of anarchy in the United States. The partiſans of the mother country, and that country itſelf, now made themſelves certain that this new born nation could not exiſt without England, and would ſoon be compelled to return to its former condition.

The diſcontent was univerſal. The friends of freedom were alarmed. They ſaw at once, that the drawing cloſer the ties of the Union, and the extenſion of the powers of the federal government, were the only things that could preſerve the independence of the United States.

Such were the dangers which gave riſe to the convention of Annapolis. No more than five ſtates ſent delegates to this aſſembly; and theſe had powers only to frame a general ſyſtem for the commerce of the Union, which, by advancing

the intereſts of the whole, ſhould maintain a good underſtanding among the ſeveral ſtates. The delegates, perceiving how far they fell ſhort of a general repreſentation of the Union, and the inadequacy of their own powers to effect any important change, diſſolved the convention, after drawing up an addreſs to all the ſtates, in which they urged the neceſſity of each of them ſending deputies to a new convention, with full powers to deliberate on the general ſituation of the Union, and to deviſe means to add ſolidity and force to the preſent conſtitution, indiſpenſable as that was to the reſtoration of their affairs. They concluded, by propoſing the aſſembling of that convention in the following May; and they diſpatched copies of the addreſs to the congreſs, and the executive branches of the ſeveral ſtates.

The invitation of the delegates of Annapolis was accepted by every one of the ſtates, but that of Rhode-Iſland; and was the parent of that great and memorable convention held at Philadelphia in 1787, whence ſprang the preſent conſtitution of the United States.

But the deſigns of the different ſtates, in deputing members to the convention, and the opinions of the delegates themſelves, were far from being of one kind. Even the ſeveral friends of liberty were not unanimous in their plans. Few

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of the ſtates gave their deputies power to deliberate on a new conſtitution; they were all willing to give efficacy to the conſtitution in exiſtence, and to make a code of regulations for the general commerce; but few wiſhed to advance further. The enlightened men of the time ſaw, that a confederation haſtily made, in the moment of a revolution, and in the midſt of the imminent dangers and imperious wants of the war, was not ſuch a form of government as was neceſſary for the durable proſperity of the Union. Each of them ſtrongly felt the neceſſity of a new conſtitution, but were far from being agreed as to the parts of which it was to be compoſed.

It was to be expected, that the Engliſh conſtitution would find partiſans among the members of ſtates that were ſo lately Engliſh colonies; that conſtitution was familiar to them; they had long been conducted by its principles; it was the moſt free form of government at that time known, and had been juſtly ranked above all others; the vices of the Engliſh government were independent of its conſtitution; and the abuſes which had crept into the conſtitution might with facility be ſeparated, in its adoption, from its better principles—every trial of a new ſyſtem was dangerous to a country; the advantages of the Engliſh conſtitution were proved by experience; England had reached

reached the higheſt degree of proſperity under its auſpices—ſuch reaſonings as theſe were ſufficiently powerful to account for the conduct of thoſe who propoſed to adopt the Engliſh conſtitution in the United States, or to frame one approaching it as near as poſſible, without ſeeking to diſgrace them with motives of perſonal intereſt and ambition. On the other hand, that ſcheme could not fail to find many opponents, preciſely becauſe it was of Engliſh extraction. A people who had ſo recently bent their whole force to throw off their dependence on the crown of England, could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to look for the ſecurity of their liberty, and the continuance of their independence, in a conſtitution from which they had derived ſo many misfortunes. That conſtitution, in whatever manner it might be modified, appeared to them to affect the equality of ranks exiſting among all the inhabitants of the ſtate, to which were ſtrongly attached that immenſe number that had nothing to expect from the deſtruction of equality. The public ſentiments were at that time almoſt univerſally republican; and the Engliſh conſtitution would plant ſeeds of ariſtocracy, that it was feared would grow up to the extirpation of thoſe of liberty. The Engliſh conſtitution might be ſuitable to a people grown old, powerful, and wealthy, and be very unfit for a people

people in a ſtate of infant weakneſs. In a word, the ſervility of imitating the Engliſh conſtitution, ſeemed to be a ſtep towards the old ſubjugation to England; and the diſpoſition of the United States was greatly averſe to ſuch a diſgrace. Theſe reaſonings raiſed opponents to the adoption of the Engliſh conſtitution, even among thoſe who acknowledged the neceſſity of a change; and this, properly ſpeaking, is the era of the origin of parties in the United States.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the two parties, when the twelve delegates arrived at Philadelphia—Rhode-Iſland not having ſent any to the convention. That aſſembly ſoon ſplit into two parties—one deſirous of eſtabliſhing a form of government as monarchical as poſſible; in a word, on a baſis very different from that of the confederation;—the other determined to take the confederation for their ground-work, clearing it from the vices pointed out by experience, and ſtrengthening it on the ſide of its power; nevertheleſs, in a manner conſiſtent with the rights of the different ſtates, and on principles perfectly republican.

It is aſſerted, that ſome of the leaders of the firſt party had formed the project of a monarchy, on the exact plan of that of England, on the throne of which was to be placed the Biſhop of Oſnaburg,

Oſnaburg, now Duke of York; and that on theſe terms the Engliſh government had promiſed the ceſſion of Canada to the United States, and the gift of ſeveral veſſels of the line and frigates. According to this plan a perpetual offenſive and defenſive treaty was to be made with England. There is no appearance, however, that ſuch a project was ever entertained. Letters, in which it was ſketched out, were indeed circulated through different parts of the United States previous to the meeting of the convention; ſeveral perſons, whoſe veracity I cannot diſpute, have aſſured me that they have ſeen ſuch letters; but in truth they might be circulated by the artifice of the republican party, to prejudice the people, by preſenting this extreme to their conſideration, againſt any attempt of their opponents to deſtroy the ground-work of the federal government.

Whatever were the caſe, early in the ſittings of the convention a plan was preſented, which propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a preſident for life, and ſenators for life, and expreſſed a deſire to make both one and the other of theſe functions hereditary, and to ſubject the laws of the reſpective ſtates to the reviſion of the general government. But this plan met with no ſupport; and a committee was appointed, who laid the baſis on which the preſent conſtitution ſtands.

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The republican principle prevailed among the greater number of the deputies, and was even prevalent throughout the whole ſtates; but the delegates of the more powerful ſtates were deſirous of giving thoſe ſtates more influence in the government they were framing than to the weaker; and a party more enlightened and more juſt in their views, were equally determined to preſerve the equality which all the ſtates had in the original confederation. The former of theſe two parties, in moſt diſputes, ranged themſelves on the ſide of the committee that framed the conſtitution, from whom they hoped to gain better terms than from the purely republican party. The inequality in the general repreſentation, founded on the baſis of the population of the ſtates, was one of the advantages they gained by their policy; but it was not even without long and violent debates.—Another was, the right given to Virginia, and the ſouthern ſtates, to reckon in the population which formed the ratio of delegates of each ſtate, three-fifths of the ſlaves —a conceſſion that exhibited a deplorable departure from the principles of a free people; it was a conceſſion that gave to ſome ſtates a degree of power and influence over the others, in proportion as the former violated, by the maintenance of ſlavery in their own ſtates, the very principles of

of the Union; it was a conceſſion which encouraged and encreaſed the growth of ſlavery, by the natural operation of the political intereſts of the ſtates where that injuſtice ſtill exiſts; and in a word, a conceſſion which was wholly abſurd, becauſe it gives the privileges of freemen, in the election of the general government, to perſons who are regarded by the laws of the ſtate in which they reſide as part of the ſtock of the land, and are ſold with other ſtock by its proprietors.

The delegates of the great ſtates did not, however, obtain all they demanded. The powers of the ſeveral ſtates were not reſtricted in the degree they deſired; the title of *national conſtitution*, which they propoſed to be given to the new frame of government, was rejected, and that of *federal conſtitution* adopted; the inequality of the repreſentation in the houſe of repreſentatives was not gained by them, till they had agreed to the equality of repreſentation in the ſenate.—The accommodation in this article between the two parties was effected by Benjamin Franklin.

The deputies of the great ſtates propoſed, that the houſe of repreſentatives ſhould be choſen for three years, and that of the ſenate for ſeven; and by the conſtitution the former was reſtricted to two years, and the latter to ſix. They propoſed that the preſident ſhould be elected by the congreſs,

greſs, and that the term of his continuing in office ſhould be ſeven years; the conſtitution gave the power of chuſing the preſident to the electors of the ſeveral ſtates, and reſtricted the term of his remaining in office to four years.

Many, however, of the deputies of the powerful ſtates, when the particular intereſts of their conſtituents were no longer concerned, voted with the party purely republican, which indeed was conſiſtent with their general principles.

In this convention the votes were given by ſtates; and when the delegates of a ſtate differed in opinion, the majority was reckoned the vote of the ſtate.

Some members of the republican party, which was then called the federaliſts, diſguſted with their want of ſucceſs, and convinced that their oppoſition would not prevent the preponderance of the adverſe party; believing alſo that the conſtitution would not receive the ſanction of the ſtates, when it ſhould be preſented for their acceptance, withdrew from the convention—many even a ſhort time after the commencement of its ſittings. It is affirmed, that ſeveral new articles were introduced into the conſtitution during the laſt twelve days of the ſitting of the convention, when almoſt the whole of the republican party, thinking it finiſhed, had retired; and that even other

other articles, which had already paſſed, were at the ſame time modified. The obſcurity of ſome of the articles has given riſe to an opinion, that the intention of their authors was to acquire the power by this means of giving their own direction to the conſtitution, without an open eſtabliſhment of their principles. It is to be noticed, that the ſittings of the convention were never public; and to keep its debates ſecret, in one of its firſt ſittings, a reſolution paſſed, that no member ſhould hold any correſpondence with perſons out of doors, on the objects of their diſcuſſion, nor ſhould take notes of the debates, nor copies of their reſolutions. This precaution was attributed to the fear of the ruling party, that its views would be oppoſed by the majority of the ſtates.

To this day the journals of the convention have not been publiſhed; and it is only to the notes of ſome of its members, in deſpite of its reſolutions, that we are indebted for the account we have of the debates of that aſſembly.

I cannot finiſh this article without gratifying myſelf with the pleaſure of giving my reader the truly diſintereſted and patriotic ſpeech of Benjamin Franklin, in the debates on the queſtion of the adoption of this conſtitution by the convention.

" Sir

" Sir,

" I am very ready to acknowledge that I do not, at this moment, entirely approve of the conſtitution now offered to us; but I am not the leſs ready to own that I do not feel myſelf ſure of my continuing in my preſent ſentiments. In the long career I have already run, I have more than once been compelled, by ſubſequent reflection, to abandon opinions I had openly maintained, and which I thought well founded from the deep conſideration I had given them. As I grow older, I am more and more diſpoſed to queſtion my own judgment, and to pay reſpect to that of others. There are ſome men, as well as ſome religious ſects, who imagine, that reaſon is entirely on their ſide, and that their opponents plunge deeper into error, in proportion as they depart from their opinions. Struck with theſe examples, which are but too common, I accept of this conſtitution, with all its faults, even ſuppoſing I am not miſtaken in my opinion of its faults; for I am perſuaded that a general govenment is neceſſary to our ſafety, and that no form of government that is well adminiſtered is incapable of producing the happineſs of the people; and I think there is reaſon to believe that this conſtitution will be well adminiſtered for a number of years, and that it will not end, as too

many other governments have done, in deſpotiſm, unleſs the American people ſhall reach that degree of corruption in which at once, incapable of being directed by a free conſtitution, and unworthy of its bleſſings, deſpotiſm becomes neceſſary to their exiſtence. I therefore give my vote for this conſtitution, both becauſe in the preſent circumſtances of this nation I cannot hope to ſee one more perfect, and becauſe I am not ſure this is not as perfect as any it can have. I make a ſacrifice of the opinions I have expreſſed of its defects to the public happineſs. I have never uttered my objections out of this houſe; here they had their birth, and here I wiſh them for ever to be buried. If every one of us who have oppoſed the conſtitution, when we return to our conſtituents, were to unfold the motives of our oppoſition, and endeavour to gain partizans to our ſide, perhaps we might prevent the unanimous adoption of the conſtitution; but by this we ſhould only loſe the advantage which the appearance of unanimity will give us with foreign nations, and indeed with our own people. The general good opinion of a nation, reſpecting its government, is as neceſſary as the wiſdom and integrity of its adminiſtration to the happineſs of its people. I truſt, therefore, both for our own ſafety, as members of the community, and

and for the ſake of our poſterity, that we ſhall be of one mind in recommending this conſtitution wherever our influence reaches, and that afterwards our whole thoughts will be bent to its happy adminiſtration. I cannot forbear to form the wiſh that ſuch of us as ſtill entertain objections to this conſtitution will follow my example, and doubt a little of their infallibility, and ſign this conſtitutional act, that no queſtion may be left of our unanimity."

Franklin had not only foſtered principles the moſt purely democratic, but had always openly declared for them. A ſingle houſe of legiſlature, and the executive part of the government extremely limited in its power with frequent elections of the perſons exerciſing its functions, formed, in his opinion, the only deſirable conſtitution. The ſacrifice he made of the opinion of his whole life on the altar of his country, on this great occaſion, certainly deſerves our moſt profound admiration; and his example is an ineſtimable leſſon to the preſent times. Who will flatter himſelf that there is no miſtake in the moſt rooted of his opinions? Who will not heſitate to conclude, that even the experience of paſt ages is infallible to prove the fitneſs of any of the old forms of government for the preſent age?

Will not the preſent times, in like manner, belong to the experience of poſterity? And the immenſe changes that have been wrought in ſociety by the acknowledged vices of governments, a change in manners, the detection of long prevailing errors, the recent diſcovery of a variety of truths, and the extenſion of knowledge in almoſt all its directions, do theſe make the preſent time ſo perfectly ſimilar to the paſt, that a reaſonable man cannot heſitate to ſay, that every propoſition relative to forms of government that was once true, continues ſtill to be ſo? Is it not ſafer to ſay with Franklin, that there is no conſtitutions which, adminiſtered by the government and obeyed by the people with mutual attachment to the public welfare, is not capable of ſecuring to the people the only true object of government? And is it not true, that attachment to the public welfare is at once the duty of every citizen, and his own individual intereſt?—Oh my country! may you learn this indubitable truth, in which alone will you find your ſafety and happineſs!

DEBATES IN THE CONVENTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES, ON THE QUESTION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The reference of the conſtitution to the ſeveral ſtates, for their adoption or rejection, occaſioned ſtill

ſtill greater debates than thoſe of the convention at Philadelphia. The ſeveral ſtates formed the tribunal of appeal on that great queſtion. A majority of nine ſtates were to decide it irrevocably. Each of the parties now directed all their efforts to this point. Pamphlets poured from the preſs; the papers were filled with diſcuſſion; "Public liberty is in danger if the conſtitution is accepted"—ſuch was the language of the oppoſition papers; while the papers on the other ſide declared, that "the independence of the United States could be ſecured only by its acceptance." The two opinions were reſpectively ſupported not only by argument, but alſo by the exaggerations and other artifices of party.

The greater number of the ſtates went into an analyſis of the conſtitution, in its proviſions, its detail, and its conſequences; but none of them in the ſame degree as Pennſylvania, New York, Maſſachuſetts, and Virginia. The arguments of the oppoſition in the ſeveral ſtates were much the ſame. The following were their principal objections:

1ſt. That the convention was aſſembled only to reviſe and correct the articles of the original confederation, and not to frame a new conſtitution.

2d. That the convention, had it been autho-

rized to frame a new conſtitution, had exceeded its powers, in declaring that the acceptance of the conſtitution by nine of the ſtates ſhould make it law, and that the acceptation was to be without amendment—that this declaration was, on the one hand, contrary to the rights of the people, who alone were to judge of the form of the conſtitution under which they were to live; and, on the other, to the rights of the ſeveral ſtates, who, being independent of each other, could not be united in a political body by any deliberations but their own.

3d. That the conſtitution ought to have been preceded by a declaration of rights; the people of the ſeveral ſtates being, as the conſtitution ſtood, no longer ſecure of their own particular conſtitutions, inaſmuch as the laws of congreſs would in future bind all the ſubjects of the union, and controul the laws of the ſeveral legiſlatures.

4th. That the people of the union were not to be adequately repreſented in the congreſs; becauſe the conſtitution, while it declared that the number of repreſentatives ſhould not exceed one for every thirty thouſand of the inhabitants, provided that, till the number of the inhabitants in the union ſhould be aſcertained, the repreſentatives in congreſs ſhould not exceed ſixty-ſeven—

whence

whence it was to be feared, that the congreſs itſelf would not hereafter permit the number of its members to be increaſed, according to the neceſſity of the occaſion; and that, conſequently, queſtions of the higheſt importance might be decided by eighteen voices, as thirty-four members preſent were declared to be ſufficient to paſs any law.

5th. That the houſe of repreſentatives, being the only one in which the people were repreſented, ought to have the excluſive diſpoſal of the public purſe; and that the power given to the ſenate of making amendments in money bills, was contrary to the intereſts and ſafety of the people—and alſo that other power, of fixing the ſalaries of officers, which were to be nominated by them, in conjunction with the preſident.

6th. That no executive council being given to the preſident, as had been propoſed, to conſiſt of two members from the northern, two from the ſouthern, and two from the midland ſtates, the conſequence would be, to aſſociate the ſenate to the executive power in many of its functions; and thus the ſeparation of powers acknowledged to be an eſſential condition to every good government, was departed from—that the ſenate, becoming neceſſarily connected with the preſident,

by its concurrent nomination to places, would be the more ready to join in improper appointments, becauſe its members, being eligible for any appointment, their complacence to the preſident might be the price of their own advancement, and the public liberty thereby endangered. —that the intereſts of the United States was even more affected by the power given to the preſident, to make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the ſenate, and without the intervention of the houſe of repreſentatives.

7th. That the juriſdiction given to the federal courts would be vexatious to the individuals of the ſeveral ſtates, who would be inceſſantly taken from their homes to appear to ſuits inſtituted in thoſe courts, of which the tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates were the natural judges—that thoſe juriſdictions would draw to themſelves all the affairs of the tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates—that the want of preciſion in the judgments of the federal tribunals, would be a fertile ſource of new ſuits, and afford new opportunities of enlarging their juriſdiction—and, finally, that the power given to theſe tribunals to pronounce judgment according *to the ſpirit* as well as the letter of the conſtitution, ſubmitted the conſtitution itſelf to their diſcretion, by authoriſing them to explain it according to their own caprice.

8th.

8th. That the prerogative given to the preſident to pardon criminals ſentenced for high treaſon, endangered the public liberty, by enabling him to ſcreen thoſe whom he himſelf had employed to conſpire againſt it.

9th. That the power given the congreſs to name the times and places in which elections for its members were to be held in the different ſtates, at once attacked the ſovereignty of the ſeveral ſtates, and expoſed the electors to journies that might draw them to a greater diſtance from home, and for a longer time, than was abſolutely neceſſary to the diſcharge of the duty of chooſing members of the legiſlature.

10th. That the power given to the congreſs to impoſe all kinds of taxes, to apportion them among individuals, and to cauſe them to be levied, was vexatious—that it might take from the ſeveral ſtates the reſources neceſſary to their particular expences—and that, increaſing the expence of the collection, it augmented the contribution of individuals without advantage to the ſtate; an inconvenience that would eaſily be avoided, if the congreſs, ſatisfied with naming the ſum to be raiſed by each ſtate, ſhould leave to its legiſlature the care of its collection, reſerving only the power of levying the taxes on a refuſal of any ſtate

ſtate to pay them, or in the caſe of negligence in collecting them.

11th. That a ſimple majority of voices in the congreſs being ſufficient for all laws relative to navigation and commerce, the ſouthern ſtates, having a ſurplus of produce of a valuable nature, but being without ſhipping for its exportation, would be ſubject to the monopoly of the northern ſtates, who had not an equal quantity of ſurplus of produce, and abounded in ſhipping; an evil that would be remedied, by requiring a majority of two-thirds of voices for laws of that nature.

(It will be readily enough underſtood, that this objection was made only by the ſouthern ſtates.)

12th. That the trial of *impeachments* being committed ſolely to the ſenate, connected in intereſt with the executive power by the conſtitution itſelf, would neither ſecure the acquittal of the innocent, nor the condemnation of the guilty.

13th. That the prerogative given the preſident to confer appointments in his power on members of the two houſes of legiſlature, was a means of corruption, and an enemy to freedom of debate.

14th. That the function of preſident being capable of being indefinitely continued in the ſame hands, might give an ambitious and politic man an influence dangerous to the congreſs, to individuals,

duals, and even the conſtitution itſelf, which through that defect might ceaſe to become republican.

15th. That the public liberty was endangered by the power given to congreſs to maintain a ſtanding army in times of peace.

16th. That the public liberty was endangered alſo, and the rights of individuals infringed, by the want of juries in civil matters before the federal tribunals.

17th. That the invariable and indiſpenſable uſe of juries in criminal matters, was not declared with ſufficient preciſion.

18th. Finally, that nothing in the conſtitution guaranteed the liberty of the preſs, nor liberty of conſcience—and that no aſſurance was left to the ſeveral ſtates, that the congreſs would not ſucceſſively aſſume the ſeveral powers of which the conſtitution did not at preſent demand the ſacrifice, and which were at once their right as independent ſtates, and the only ſafeguard of their independence.

Many of theſe objections were by no means forcible; and the apprehenſions they expreſſed were exaggerated, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn by the event. But if ſome of theſe are to be aſcribed to a ſpirit of party, and to the deſire of the ſeveral ſtates to make as little ſacrifice as poſſible of

of their own authority and powers to the general government, it is not the leſs true, that the greater part of the oppoſition to the new conſtitution had its ſource in the ſpirit of liberty which at that time animated the citizens of the United States, the ſtruggle for the acquiſition of liberty being then recent; and in that fear of ariſtocracy and monarchy, to which it was thought there was a tendency in the new conſtitution—in the republican temper which was then common to all the United States—and, finally in the ſtrong miſtruſt, which was the natural conſequence of theſe circumſtances.

It is indeed certain that a very great majority of the people of the United States were averſe to the adoption of the conſtitution; and that it had not a majority in the ſeveral conventions, but from a general conviction among its opponents of the inefficacy of the articles of confederation, and the neceſſity of giving greater power to the federal government; and from the fear they had of prolonging the anarchy in which the country was at that time plunged, and of rendering that anarchy more incorrigible by the delay that muſt be occaſioned by the convoking a new aſſembly to frame another conſtitution.

It is ſaid that theſe powerful motives were ſtrengthened, in many of the adherents of the conſtitution,

conſtitution, by individual intereſts, ambitious views, and, above all, by the proſpect of lucrative ſpeculations in the public funds and in the purchaſe of public lands, which were ſtated to be the inevitable reſult of the new government.

The ſupport which was given to the conſtitution was not, however, the ſame in all of the conventions. In the ſtates of Delaware, New Jerſey, and Georgia, its acceptance was unanimous. In Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, a minority voted againſt it; but it paſſed without any amendment. In Pennſylvania, where the oppoſition was the ſtrongeſt, the minority withdrew, and entered a proteſt, accompanied with the motives of their objection to the conſtitution. South Carolina, Virginia, New York, and Maſſachuſetts, accepted the conſtitution, by a very ſmall majority, and joined to their acceptance the propoſition of ſeveral amendments, which they repreſented as indiſpenſable to the public liberty and ſafety; and declared, that their reſolution not to obſtruct the action of the government, and the hope that a new congreſs would yield to their repreſentations and demands, were the only motives on which they accepted the conſtitution. New York was on the eve of rejecting the conſtitution, when intelligence arriving that it was accepted by nine of the ſtates.

and

and proving the futility of further oppoſition, it was accepted by that ſtate. New Hampſhire ſeparated without coming to a reſolution; and having afterwards aſſembled, gave its aſſent, accompanied with propoſitions for amendments. North Carolina propoſed amendments, and made them the conditions of its acceptance; but ſome time afterwards accepted the conſtitution without reſerve.

Rhode-Iſland, inſtead of calling a convention, referred the conſtitution to the aſſemblies of the towns; by whom it was rejected, with the exception of Newport, Providence, and ſome others, who declared themſelves incompetent to enter into the diſcuſſion, and propoſed the convoking of a convention for the purpoſe; which, being afterwards called, accepted the conſtitution.

The following is a table of the periods when the ſeveral ſtates accepted the conſtitution, and of the manner in which it paſſed in the ſeveral conventions.

States.

States.	Period of accepting the Conſtitution.	Manner of paſſing it.		
Delaware - -	Dec. 31, 1787	Unanimouſly		Maj. 23
Pennſylvania -	—— 13. ——	For, 46—Againſt,	23	
New Jerſey - -	—— 19. ——	Unanimouſly		
Georgia - -	Jan. 2. 1788	Ditto		
Connecticut -	—— 9. ——	For, 128—Againſt,	40	88
Maſſachuſetts -	Feb. 6. ——	— 187	—— 168	19
Maryland - -	April 28. ——	— 63	—— 12	51
South Carolina -	May 23. ——	— 149	—— 73	76
New Hampſhire	June 21. ——	— 57	—— 46	11
Virginia - - -	—— 15. ——	— 89	—— 79	10
New York - -	July 26. ——	— 30	—— 25	5
North Carolina -	Nov. 27. 1789	— 193	—— 75	118
Rhode-Iſland -	May 29. 1790	— —	—— —	2

The ſeveral amendments propoſed by ſome of the conventions, without being preciſely the ſame, related to the ſame objects. The congreſs, in its firſt ſittings after the acceptance of the conſtitution,

conſtitution, took them into conſideration; and from their purport, drew up twelve new articles, as a ſupplement to the conſtitution, which, in virtue of the fifth article of the conſtitution, were ſubmitted to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, for their ratification, in the following terms.

Articles propoſed to be added to the Conſtitution, and ſubmitted to the States for Ratification.

"*In Congreſs, 4th March*, 1789.

"The conventions of certain of the ſtates having, at the time of their adopting the conſtitution, expreſſed a deſire in order to prevent miſconſtruction or abuſe of its powers, that further declaratory and reſtrictive clauſes ſhould be added: and, as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will beſt enſure the beneficent ends of its inſtitution, it was

"*Reſolved* by the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives of the United States of America, in congreſs aſſembled, two-thirds of both houſes concurring, that the following articles be propoſed to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, as amendments to the conſtitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the ſaid legiſlatures, to be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of the ſaid conſtitution.

"*Art.*

"*Art.* 1ſt. After the firſt enumeration required by the firſt article of the conſtitution, there ſhall be one repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to one hundred; after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by congreſs, that there ſhall be not leſs than one hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every forty thouſand perſons, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by congreſs, that there ſhall not be leſs than two hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every fifty thouſand perſons.

"*Art.* 2d. No law varying the compenſation for the ſervices of the ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall take effect, until an election of repreſentatives ſhall have intervened.

"*Art.* 3d. Congreſs ſhall make no law reſpecting an eſtabliſhment of religion, or prohibiting the free exerciſe thereof; or abridging the freedom of ſpeech or of the preſs; or the right of people peaceably to aſſemble, and to petition the government for a redreſs of grievances.

"*Art.* 4th. A well regulated militia being neceſſary to the ſecurity of a free ſtate, the right of the people to keep and bear arms ſhall not be infringed.

"*Art.* 5th. No ſoldier ſhall, in time of peace, be quartered in any houſe without the conſent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be preſcribed by law.

"*Art.* 6th. The right of the people to be ſecure in their perſons, houſes, papers, and effects, againſt unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizures, ſhall not be violated; and no warrants ſhall iſſue, but upon probable cauſe, ſupported by oath or affirmation, and particularly deſcribing the place to be ſearched, and the perſon or things to be ſeized.

"*Art.* 7th. No perſon ſhall be held to anſwer for a capital or otherwiſe infamous crime, unleſs on a preſentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in caſes ariſing in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual ſervice, in time of war or public danger; nor ſhall be tried twice for the ſame offence; nor ſhall be compelled in any criminal caſe to be a witneſs againſt himſelf; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due proceſs of law; nor ſhall private property be taken for public uſe, without juſt compenſation.

"*Art.* 8th. In all criminal proſecutions, the accuſed ſhall enjoy the right to a ſpeedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the ſtate and diſtrict wherein the crime ſhall have been committed, which

which diſtrict ſhall have been previouſly aſcertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cauſe of the accuſation; to be confronted with the witneſſes againſt him; to have compulſory proceſs for obtaining witneſſes in his favour; and to have the aſſiſtance of counſel for his defence.

"*Art.* 9th. In ſuits at common law, where the value in controverſy ſhall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury ſhall be preſerved; and no fact tried by a jury ſhall be otherwiſe re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

"*Art.* 10th. Exceſſive bail ſhall not be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

"*Art.* 11th. The enumeration in the conſtitution of certain rights, ſhall not be conſtrued to deny or diſparage others retained by the people.

"*Art.* 12th. The powers not delegated to the United States by the conſtitution, nor prohibited by it to the ſtates, are reſerved to the ſtates reſpectively, or to the people."

The two firſt of theſe twelve articles did not receive the ratification required by law. The other ten being ratified, make part of the conſtitution.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is not my deſign here to enter into a minute examination of the merits of the conſtitution of the United States. The information I have gathered as to the ſituation of affairs, and the temper of parties, at the period of its adoption, induces me to believe that it is the beſt which could at that time be carried into execution. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſpeak of its principal and inherent defect; which I regard as an obſtacle to the public welfare in any conſtitution where it is found. I confeſs there is ſome degree of boldneſs in ſpeaking thus freely on this topic; for what I conſider to be a fundamental defect in the conſtitution of the United States, is viewed by almoſt every American as its moſt valuable quality. I am alluding to the federal form of the government. I admit the conception to be of a ſublime nature, and calculated to delight in theory. Sovereign ſtates ceding to a general government part of their authority, for the public benefit, preſents, in a more faſcinating way than ordinary, the image of men united in ſociety, making a ſacrifice of a portion of their rights and liberties for the ſecure enjoyment of the reſt, and for the general proſperity; but experience will ſhew

ſhew this ſcheme, pleaſing as it is to the imagination, illuſory, and incapable of execution. The propenſities of governments have a power, of a nature and extent very different from that of individuals; their apparent motives are much more plauſible; and the ſuppreſſion of them by force is much leſs prompt, and leſs eaſy in the execution, than that of the paſſions of individuals—meanwhile they inherently oppoſe themſelves to the advantages that form the object of the compact, which is the general welfare of the union. Without purſuing the diſcuſſion of the principles and reſults of a federal government, I will give two ſtriking examples of its ſerious evils in the United States.

In 1787, the old congreſs, deſiring to ſettle the claims of the different ſtates upon the general government, paſſed a law, on the 7th of May, providing, that five commiſſioners ſhould be ſent ſucceſſively into all the ſtates, to receive the accounts of each, for ſums expended by them during the war, for the ſervice of the Union, in virtue of orders of congreſs, or without ſuch orders, where proofs of the expenditure ſo applied could be given. The commiſſioners were to examine the ſeveral claims; to ſtrike the balance of each; returns of which balances they were to make to

the treaſurer of the Union, accompanied with the ſeveral documents, for which they were to give acknowledgments to the ſtates to which they reſpectively belonged; and alſo with their remarks on the nature and validity of ſuch documents; and the law enjoined the different ſtates to furniſh ſuch documents and titles to the commiſſioners within the ſpace of ſix months, to be by them tranſmitted to the treaſury in the current year. It further provided, that, when the above returns ſhould be made, the congreſs ſhould name three other commiſſioners to examine all accounts and documents, and finally to ſtrike balances of the ſeveral claims; acting on the opinion of the firſt commiſſioners as to the validity of the documents, where ſuch were produced, and on the principles of equity, where claims were made for expences in the war not previouſly authoriſed by orders of congreſs. This law declared the deciſions of the majority of the three commiſſioners to be concluſive, and not ſubject to appeal; and it finally enjoined the commiſſoners to compleat the deciſion of all ſuch claims within eight months. At the expiration of that term, theſe claims ſtill remained unſettled, the public mind being occupied by the preſentation and adoption of the new conſtitution. A law was

therefore

therefore paſſed in the new congreſs, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1790, authoriſing the preſident of the United States to appoint three new commiſſioners, with the ſame powers as were delegated to the former; who were, on an examination of the claims and titles on the one hand, and of the returns of the treaſury of ſums advanced by the Union to the ſeveral ſtates on the other hand, to ſtrike the ſeveral balances; and to make ſuch ſtates creditors of the Union as ſhould have expended more than their receipts from the treaſury, and ſuch ſtates debtors to the Union, as ſhould not have expended the ſums advanced to them by the Union. This law fixed the 1ſt of July, 1792, for the lateſt period for the returns of ſuch balances to be made. By a law paſſed on the laſt day of February, 1792, the time for returning ſuch balances was extended to the 1ſt of July, 1793.

The law which thus authoriſed the preſident to appoint three commiſſioners for this important ſervice, paſſed almoſt unanimouſly; and Mr. Waſhington, the preſident, made choice of men of acknowledged integrity and information;—theſe were, WILLIAM IRWINE, JOHN KEAN, and WOODBURY LANGDON, whoſe appointment gave univerſal ſatisfaction in the ſtates. Theſe commiſſioners finiſhed their labour within the

time prescribed; and the following is a table of the returns they made of their decision.

States, Creditors of the Union.	Sums.
New Hampshire -	75,015 Dollars.
Massachusetts -	1,248,801
Rhode-Island - -	289,611
Connecticut - -	619,121
New Jersey - -	49,030
South Carolina -	1,205,978
Georgia - -	19,888

States, Debtors to the Union.	
New York - -	2,072,846
Pennsylvania - -	76,709
Delaware - -	612,428
Maryland - -	151,640
Virginia - -	100,879
North Carolina -	501,882

It was not till towards the close of 1796, that the question was agitated in congress, of the means of bringing into the treasury of the Union the sums due from the states that were debtors to it, which sums were destined to discharge the debts due from the Union to the other states; and then it was soon demonstrated, by the turn the debates took in the question, that the states, debtors to the Union, had no intention of discharging

charging their obligations, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs of the treaſury of the Union, and the flouriſhing condition of the finances of moſt of thoſe ſtates, eſpecially that of New York. A regard to the particular intereſts of the ſeveral ſtates, and a jealouſy of each other, were univerſally manifeſted. The debates abounded with ſophiſtry, and ill faith to the public. An attention to the concerns and intereſts of the Union was no where to be found in them. Although many ſittings were given to the diſcuſſion, no reſolution paſſed on the ſubject; and no other reſult was apparent, than that the ſtates, debtors to the Union, or the greater part of them, would never diſcharge the debt, and that the Union was deſtitute of means to enforce payment—for an attempt to obtain the payment by arms, was to provoke a civil war, and haſten the diſſolution of the Union. The loſs to the treaſury of the Union amounted to three millions ſeven hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; or rather three millions nine hundred and four thouſand three hundred and fifty-one dollars, including the intereſt. The welfare of the Union was made a ready ſacrifice to the rapacity and injuſtice of individuals, who oppoſed the execution of a law againſt which they had ſolemnly engaged to make no appeal. The object

ject of the federal government was in this inſtance entirely defeated.

The other inſtance I have to give of the inconvenience of the federal ſyſtem, is relative to the fortifying of the harbours of the ſtates. The conſtitution, in the firſt article, and the eighth ſection, provides, that the Union "ſhall exerciſe excluſive legiſlative authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;" and by a law paſſed in December 1794, whoſe object was to provide for expences incurred in the fortification of ſome places on the coaſt of the United States, it is declared, "that the preſident ſhall receive from the legiſlatures of the different ſtates the ceſſion of the lands neceſſary to ſuch fortifications, or ſhall purchaſe them, if they are not the property of the ſtates." The greater part of the ſtates refuſed to cede the lands wanted for this purpoſe, or to authoriſe the preſident to acquire them by purchaſe, in the caſe of their being the property of individuals. They demanded ſums of the Union, in aid of the ſums they conſented to expend from their own treaſuries, in fortifications to be raiſed on their own lands; but the aſſiſtance they gave the law went no further. The conſequence was, that the for-

tifications

tifications were conſtructed on the plans, and according to the notions of individuals, the ſeveral ſtates in which they were erected attending only to their own advantage; that they were built on ſordid principles, and in a very inadequate manner, the reſources of the ſeveral ſtates not appearing competent to conſtruct them either in the extent or with the ſolidity the object required; that they are raiſed in places where the expence of the erection would be leſs, rather than in ſuch places as would beſt cover the towns, and add to the general defence of the country. In the laſt ſitting of the late congreſs, in February 1797, very extraordinary debates were held on this ſubject; in which it appeared, by the language of the deputies of Maſſachuſetts, New York, and South Carolina, that thoſe three powerful ſtates, poſſeſſing the moſt important ports of the country, were reſolved not to cede to the Union the lands neceſſary for the erection of fortifications for the ſafety of thoſe ports. In the diſcuſſion, the government of the United States was reproached, by the deputies of Pennſylvania and Rhode-Iſland, (which ſtates had ceded to the Union the lands demanded of them), with being leſs occupied with the defence of the ſtates who paid obedience to the law, than that of the ſtates refuſing to make any ceſſion of their lands. And

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the deputies of the refractory ſtates uſed the argument of the neglect of the government toward the ſtates of Pennſylvania and Rhode Iſland, as an excuſe, and even a ſubject of praiſe to their own ſtates, for having refuſed to cede their lands to the general government. Whatever might be the degree of juſtice with which theſe reproaches were caſt upon the government of the Union, they were only uſed as a pretext for the refuſal of the refractory ſtates to cede the lands in queſtion, the real motive being the jealouſy conſtantly exiſting between the ſeveral ſovereign ſtates of the Union and the general government—a jealouſy natural enough to man, but more particularly prevailing among true republicans; inaſmuch as the general government, having citadels and troops in the midſt of the ſeveral ſtates, and in the moſt important poſts, might be the more readily tempted to abridge or deſtroy their independence.

The reſult of this ſtate of things is, that the moſt important points along the coaſts of the United States are not fortified, or are in a worſe ſtate—for the confidence which is placed in incomplete and inſufficient works, and which avail nothing to the ſafety of the places they affect to cover, is a fatal error; beſides, in an extenſive country, fortifications moſt completely made, and placed

placed with the greateſt judgment for particular objects, contribute nothing to the general defence, if they are not connected with a ſyſtem, which, having the general defence for its object, expends frequently, with the greateſt utility, the largeſt ſums on poſts that may be unimportant to the local intereſts of the place, but are, notwithſtanding the keys of the country. It is no exaggeration to ſay, that the coaſts of the United States are defenceleſs; and that the fineſt and richeſt ports of the Union are not ſecure even againſt a *coup de main*. And this great evil is entirely occaſioned by the refuſal of ſome of the ſtates to cede the lands neceſſary to a plan of general defence.

By theſe two examples, we ſee—that the derangement of the finances of the United States, and the defenceleſs condition of their coaſts, are the reſult of the federal ſyſtem—a reſult, deſtructive of the end of the Union, but one that is the neceſſary conſequence of a ſyſtem which places the intereſts and paſſions of the ſeveral ſtates in oppoſition to the welfare of the Union, and is deſtructive of the unanimity, without which no government, however excellent in its form, can afford its ſubjects the protection and other advantages for which it is inſtituted. And if theſe inconveniences are already felt in the United States,

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where population is ſo diſproportioned to the extent of country, what will they not be with a great population, and a time far removed from the origin of the Union?

STATE OF PARTIES FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

The opponents of the conſtitution, both in congreſs and out of doors, ſubmitted, on its being adopted by the ſeveral ſtates, to its authority; but they nevertheleſs formed a party in oppoſition to the new government. The conſtitution, although called a plan of *conſolidation* by its opponents, becauſe its object was to make one body of the different ſtates, by diminiſhing in too great a degree, according to their opinion, their reſpective ſovereignties, was in truth a federal conſtitution. It had, indeed, the title, and all the properties of ſuch a conſtitution. But although its opponents contended for no other purpoſe but to eſtabliſh a conſtitution more completely federal in its nature, they were by the other party named *anti-federaliſts*—a name that by no means belonged to them; but which, at that time, being the moſt odious that could be given them, it was natural their adverſaries ſhould ſtigmatize them with it. The friends of the conſtitution called themſelves *federaliſts*, a title aſſumed to give them

them popularity. Thus the two parties, without having changed opinions, objects, or policy, had ſuddenly changed names; and each continued to be diſtinguiſhed by that which its adverſary was known a year before.

The *anti-federaliſts* (for we will uſe the denominations of the parties as they are applied) had long reproached the other party with a ſubmiſſion to Engliſh influence. I do not know that the *federaliſts*, in the early times of the new conſtitution, had betrayed any other ſymptoms of this influence, than the attachment of many merchants belonging to that party to the Engliſh commerce; an attachment that their commercial intereſts readily accounted for. Afterwards the ſenate, in which the *federaliſts* were very numerous, agitated a deſign of giving the titles of his *illuſtrious highneſs* to the preſident of the United States; of *right honourable* to the members of the ſenate; and *honourable* to the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate itſelf abandoned the project, the public opinion being evidently averſe to it, and the houſe of repreſentatives diſpoſed to throw it out.

About this time was diſcuſſed the ſyſtem of finance, which now exiſts, and which was vehemently combated by the oppoſition. This debate appears indeed the only one which openly ex-

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poſed the views of the two parties, till the period of the French revolution.

Some inconſiderable tumults that happened in ſeveral of the ſtates, on the ſubject of the exciſe, were not perhaps regarded with ſo unfavourable an eye by the *anti-federaliſts*, as the other party; becauſe the former ſaw in them nothing more than the conſequences they had foretold of an unpopular mode of taxation, which indeed had been once rejected by the congreſs, and was not finally adopted but with great difficulty, and in a ſucceeding ſeſſion.

But if the two parties were marked by the diſpoſitions in which they ſeverally viewed theſe tumults, it was but ſlightly; for no partizan of the *anti-federaliſts* gave his countenance to the diſobedience of the law, and many of the party aided, in their ſeveral functions, to reſtore order. Theſe events, therefore, cannot ſtrictly be conſidered as a ſhock of the parties.

It was at the period of the French revolution, or rather at the ſecond epoch of that revolution, that the two parties openly declared their reſpective views. The *federaliſts*, whoſe objects were to ſtrengthen the government of the Union, to encreaſe the influence of the executive power, and to carry the conſtitution as far as poſſible toward monarchy, naturally beheld in the Engliſh government

government a barrier againſt the ſyſtem of French republicaniſm. The *anti-federaliſts* as naturally turned to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the ſecond revolution in France, for aid in the plan they projected, of giving a purely republican direction to the conſtitution of the ſtates. From that period, the attachment of the parties to their ſeveral opinions, their deſire of accompliſhing their reſpective views; in a word, the intention of one to give a *monarchical* tendency, and of the other a *democratic* tendency to the American government, gave them the appearance of being—the one Engliſh, and the other French parties, in the country.

The party, whoſe deſign it was to detach the United States from France, and connect them ſtrictly with England, received, no doubt, a great acceſſion of ſtrength from the horrible crimes which the men in power in France ſeemed for two years to have made the habitual adminiſtration of that unhappy country; from their avowed ſyſtem of a general diſorganization of other governments; from the open attempts of M. Genet, the French miniſter in America, to force the ſtates from their neutrality, which it was their intereſt as well as their right to maintain; and, in a word, from the intrigues of that imprudent miniſter to ſpread the principles of jacobiniſm through the

ſtates, which at once were inimical to the intereſts of France, and contrary to the rights of nations.

An abhorrence of the crimes of the governing party in France, and diſguſt with the conduct of its agents in America, were mutually felt by both the parties of the United States. The *anti-federaliſts*, however, continued to regard the diſorders they lamented as temporary; while the other party imagined they ſaw, or affected to ſee, in the evils that afflicted France, ſomething that was permanent, or at leaſt likely to be of ſome duration. At this period was formed a confederacy of the kings of Europe againſt France; and it was natural for the government of the United States to ſuppoſe the confederacy could not fail to be ſucceſsful againſt an anarchy, ſtained at home with crimes and blood, aſſailed by the choiceſt troops of Europe, and having nothing in appearance to oppoſe to this force but new troops without experienced generals, and a treaſury without any other currency than a diſcredited paper. At the ſame period England harraſſed the commerce of the United States, by taking their veſſels, and preſſing their ſailors, and even menaced them with a direct war. Thus the danger of being involved in a war againſt an enemy already powerful, and who ſeemed to be increaſing

increaſing in power, gave great uneaſineſs to the United States; while their former ally, to whom in other circumſtances they would have looked for aid, ſeemed on the point of becoming a prey to that enemy. And if the fears of the American government were exaggerated, we cannot be ſurpriſed that its ſyſtem of policy threw it into the arms of the ſtrongeſt party.

Although the *anti-federaliſts* neither approved of the diſorganizing ſyſtem of France, nor the practices of her miniſter in America, they did not apprehend any danger from an alliance with France to the interior tranquillity of the ſtates, which they deemed to be incapable of the extravagance of the anarchiſts. The evils that afflicted France appeared to them temporary; and the ſpirit of liberty, they had no doubt, would enable her to repel all her enemies. They were even more attached to an alliance with France, when they ſaw England ſo lofty in her pretenſions. Their policy was, to preſerve the abſolute neutrality of the ſtates, and to avoid a war with England by every means that did not humble the ſtates before her. If ſatisfaction could not be obtained from England for the affronts offered to the ſtates, they propoſed the ſequeſtration of Engliſh property in America, and an interruption of all commerce with her; in a word, war—if Eng-

land was reſolved on war. And this party ſuppoſed that the arming of American privateers, a prohibition to carry proviſions to the Engliſh iſlands, and the ſeizing on Canada, were more certain means of injuring England, than any ſhe had with which to make repriſals on the ſtates.

Warm conteſts were occaſioned in the houſe of repreſentatives by this difference of opinions and views, when the queſtion came to be debated concerning the relative ſituations of England and the United States. The two parties oppoſed each other with the greateſt animoſity. The queſtion equally agitated the people out of doors, throughout the whole extent of the United States; and although it was the general wiſh to preſerve peace and maintain neutrality, the complaints uttered againſt the Engliſh were loud and almoſt univerſal; and the remembrance of the triumph of America over the Engliſh arms, giving aſſurance of ſucceſs in a new conteſt, made a war with England little the object of fear with the populace. The diſmiſſion, about this time, of Mr. Jefferſon from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, increaſed the diſcontent of the *anti-federaliſts*. Mr. Jefferſon was of that party, and had always avowed an attachment to pure republicaniſm. His party aſcribed his diſmiſſion to the politics he adopted in the preſident's council. They were perſuaded,

perſuaded, however he might fear the ſtates were in no condition at that moment to declare war againſt England, and however reſolved he might be to leave no reaſonable propoſition untried to reſtore a good underſtanding between the countries, he was nevertheleſs equally bent upon rejecting every meaſure that would affect the honour and dignity of the ſtates. The wiſhes of the party were, not to challenge England, but to ſhew her how the ſtates had been inſulted and injured by her conduct; to let her ſee they were offended, and to let her know they demanded reparation. They were not ignorant that Mr. Jefferſon oppoſed in the council too cloſe and intimate an union with England, whom he accuſed of treachery; that he oppoſed ſtill more eagerly all meaſures tending to ſeparate the ſtates from France, where anarchy and its conſequent crimes would ſoon give way to order, and where a regard to the intereſts of the United States was evinced even in the midſt of the worſt diſorders that had diſgraced the revolution. The ſame party knew alſo that it was Mr. Jefferſon's firmneſs that defeated the dangerous pretenſions and projects of M. Genet; and that he had been the cauſe of that miniſter's being recalled by France. And the recal of M. Genet they con-

ſidered as a new and ſolid proof of the good will and friendſhip of France toward the United States.

In proportion as this party complained of the diſmiſſion of Mr. Jefferſon, the *federaliſts* expreſſed their triumph. Theſe latter ſaw, with extreme ſatisfaction, that their views would be no longer thwarted in the preſident's council, where till then they did not think the Engliſh government ſufficiently favoured. It was inſtantly determined to ſend Mr. Jay to England. It is univerſally believed that the inſtructions given to that miniſter by the preſident, were framed with great wiſdom and moderation, and that they formally enjoined Mr. Jay to reſpect the engagements of the United States with France in any new treaty with England. However that were, it is certain the preſident was careful to inform the French government, that the ſending an ambaſſador extraordinary to England, had no other object than to avoid a war with that power, and to ſettle the differences between the two countries; and that the alliance with France would be maintained with the moſt perfect good faith on the part of the United States.

The choice of Mr. Jay for the embaſſy to England, gave great offence to the *anti-federaliſts*. This miniſter was chief juſtice of the United States;

States; an office that ſeemed to make his preſence in the country indiſpenſable, and therefore appeared incompatible with any foreign miſſion. He was conſidered as devoted to England by his general habits, but more eſpecially by a blind zeal for the doctrines of the Engliſh church. He was known to have an old diſlike to France, which was ſaid to have been excited by the manifeſt preference given by the French miniſter and the whole French nation to Benjamin Franklin, whoſe colleague he was at the making of the peace in 1783.

When parties proceed to extremes with each other, every thing ſerves as food to their mutual hatred and injuſtice. About this time the inſurrection at Pittſburg broke out. The *federaliſts* accuſed their adverſaries of being the contrivers and authors of the inſurrection. They endeavoured to implicate many of them individually in its guilt, although the accuſation was never ſupported with the ſmalleſt proof. That inſurrection was no other than an exploſion, of a very culpable nature, no doubt, but perfectly foreſeen, of the diſcontents occaſioned by the levying a tax on private diſtilleries; a meaſure that never could be carried into effect in that part of Pennſylvania, even when, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the

new conſtitution, that tax made part of the law of the ſtate.

About this time alſo democratic clubs were formed in ſeveral towns in the United States; and the *anti-federaliſts* were accuſed of being the authors of this dangerous imitation of the Jacobin aſſociations that had cauſed ſo many misfortunes to France. It was alleged againſt them, that it was their deſign to uſe the clubs as inſtruments of overthrowing the conſtitution, by introducing diviſions among the ſtates, and rending to pieces the federal ſyſtem. As it generally happens, theſe accuſations increaſed the aſperity, as well as of the party by whom they were advanced as thoſe who were the objects of them.

In this ſituation of things, the treaty with England was concluded. It is not my intention to diſcuſs the merits of any particular parts of that treaty; nor do I affect to give its hiſtory, much of which is known only to very few perſons. I propoſe merely to take ſome notice of its effect on the two parties. It is perfectly known, that the preſident perceived the treaty to be ſo little conformable to the inſtructions he had given Mr. Jay, and ſo little conſiſtent with what he thought the intereſts of the United States, that it was long before he could prevail on himſelf

ſelf to preſent it to the ſenate for its ſanction—that this treaty occaſioned violent debates in the ſenate, which would not have ended with its ratification, had not the majority of that aſſembly been previouſly determined to accept it, even without knowing the articles it contained—that, as ſoon as the treaty was made public, addreſſes for and againſt its ratification crowded in from every town and corporation of the United States—that the queſtion of its ratification or rejection begat the deepeſt concern, and the warmeſt diſcuſſions among the inhabitants of the northern ſtates—that the general confidence placed in the preſident tempered in the majority their averſion to the treaty—and that, finally, when the ſums for carrying it into execution came to be voted in the houſe of repreſentatives, a long and violent ſtruggle, relative to the merits of the treaty itſelf, was the effect; although the right of that houſe to interfere with its ratification was denied by the friends of the treaty, the letter of the conſtitution having, as they ſaid, withheld that privilege from them. It is to be obſerved, that the repreſentatives maintained the right of entering into the merits of the treaty, from the very letter of the conſtitution, ſo little preciſion is there in the wording of it.—The dread of involving the United States in a war with England, at length gained

gained a majority in the houſe for the treaty; in the ſame manner as that motive had influenced not only the preſident, but the majority of the individuals in the ſtates, who finally adhered to the treaty, to the latter of whom all alliance with England, of whatever kind, was extremely obnoxious.

The old animoſity of the two parties was further inflamed by theſe diſcuſſions. The debates in the congreſs, and the pamphlets, and writings in the papers, on the ſubject, were loaded with perſonal abuſe and mutual accuſations. The *anti-federaliſts* were accuſed of encouraging a ſpirit of diſorganization for dangerous purpoſes, and from the ſordid motive of French gold. The other party was accuſed of ſacrificing the national honour; of ſhamefully humbling the ſtates at the feet of England; of violating their ancient engagements to France; and of corruption, through the medium of ambition or gold. The moſt fatal conſequences were predicted to flow from the treaty, and aſcribed to the federaliſts, as injuries brought by them upon the country. The ſpirit of party was excluded from no claſs of ſociety. Political intolerance proceeded to the extreme; even frequently in the ſame dwelling, it was found to be the greateſt; and the moſt diſgraceful and hateful appellations were mutu-

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ally given by the individuals of the parties to each other.

The diſpleaſure which France expreſſed at the treaty, widened the breach between the parties. The *anti-federaliſts* having foretold it, conſidered the expreſſion of that diſpleaſure as the eulogium of their oppoſition; while the *federaliſts* declared them to be the authors of the diſſatisfaction of France. The latter even went ſo far as to ſay, that their opponents had, by underhand intrigues, engaged the government of France to complain of the treaty, when it was not diſpoſed to do ſo; and thus they openly denounced them as enemies of their country.

The executive government of the United States, the centre of the party of the *federaliſts*, could not be ignorant that their treaty with England placed France in a much leſs favourable ſituation than formerly relative to America, and even in a leſs favourable ſituation than England, eſpecially in times of war; but whether they did not foreſee the diſpleaſure of France, or they braved the conſequences, they affected to be ſurpriſed and offended with the complaints of the French government; and immediately, whether in purſuance of a ſyſtem they had projected, or from a fear of giving advantage to the oppoſite party by reſorting to open and frank means of reconciliation

reconciliation with the French, they ſeemed in haſte to plunge into meaſures calculated to heighten the diſpleaſure of the French government, and to encreaſe, if poſſible, the animoſity of the *anti-federaliſts*, whom they no longer heſitated to denominate jacobins, and agents of France.

Among the meaſures with which the *anti-federaliſts* reproached the government as being inimical to France, was the ſending of a new ambaſſador to Paris, without powers to adjuſt the differences between the countries, and without even authority to place France and England on a footing of equality with reſpect to the United States. They certainly, without any injuſtice, conſidered among the meaſures openly hoſtile to France, a delay of eight months of the ſecretary of ſtate in anſwering one of the diſpatches of the French miniſter; the inſulting anſwer that was given, after ſo extraordinary a delay; and the drawing up a *manifeſto*, under the title of *inſtructions* to the American miniſter in France, that was a libel on both the old and new governments of France, and that did not ſcruple to attribute to *perfidious deſigns*, the ſignal ſervices rendered by France to the United States during their ſtruggle for independence; and above all, the laying theſe *inſtructions* before the congreſs, that they

they might be publiſhed to the world, without the blame of this inſult being, in point of form, imputed to them. In the conduct of the government and the federaliſts, their opponents pretended to ſee an intention of breaking with France at all events, and of joining England, againſt that faithful ally of the United States; they imputed the conduct of the governing party, either to total ignorance of the intereſts of America, or to corruption;—for, of the incurable hatred of England toward the States, and her ſecret reſolution to involve them in difficulties, and to detach them from a powerful ally, in order to have complete power over them for the purpoſes of her ambition, that party affected to have no manner of doubt.

The election of a new preſident afforded freſh aliment to the animoſity of the parties. The leaders of the *federaliſts* were deſirous of advancing to the office of preſident Mr. Pinckney, who had lately been ambaſſador in England, and who had made the laſt treaty with Spain, which gave general ſatisfaction in America; and had given his ſanction, at leaſt nominally, to the treaty with England. He was a man of acknowledged merit, of a family exceedingly reſpected in South Carolina, and of a perſonal character greatly valued. His ſervices, however, did not procure him the

firſt office in the Union. The vice-preſident, John Adams, ſeemed to be naturally called to that ſituation. Eight years exerciſe of the office of vice-preſident, old and important ſervices to the States, and a long life of eminent virtue, gave him a title that, in the opinion of perſons among the federaliſts uninfluenced by intrigue or perſonal conſiderations, was infinitely preferable to that of every other among nine candidates for that high office. The leaders of that party, notwithſtanding, conſidered Mr. Pinckney as a man more likely to be directed by their influence. They aſſociated his name in the votes with John Adams, profeſſing to the majority of their partiſans, only to raiſe him to the office of vice-preſident. They conſidered it as probable, that he would have the ſecond greateſt number of votes in the north; and that in the ſouth, eſpecially in Carolina and Georgia, where it was not expected John Adams would have any, he would have the majority, or at all events the ſecond number, if Mr. Jefferſon ſhould happen to have the majority; and that thus he would have a greater number of votes than any other candidate, and would conſequently be preſident.

The *anti-federaliſts* openly and unanimouſly ſupported Mr. Jefferſon; and his title to the office, founded on his eminent talents, on the

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ſhare he had in the declaration of independence, and on his ſervices as ſecretary of ſtate and as ambaſſador in France, could not be queſtioned, except by the prejudices of party, which are equal in power to more ſolid arguments.

The two parties ſtrained every nerve, and rejected no advantage that intrigue could furniſh. They mutually accuſed each other of unfair proceedings, and even of tricks to invalidate votes, and of frauds in the returns. The leaders of the *federaliſts* were deceived in their expectation of ſecretly gaining a majority for Mr. Pinckney. John Adams had, however, but one vote more than the majority required by law. He was declared preſident, and Mr. Jefferſon vice-preſident.

The moſt recent ſhock of theſe parties, conſtantly and vehemently excited againſt each other, was occaſioned by an extraordinary ſitting of the congreſs, aſſembled by the preſident, to take into conſideration the refuſal of the French Directory to receive Mr. Pinckney as miniſter from the United States. Although the *federaliſts* had a majority in the congreſs, the opinions of their opponents frequently prevailed. Almoſt every propoſition for meaſures of hoſtility againſt France was rejected; and the ſending of three ambaſſadors, to demand an explanation from the French government, was ſcarcely followed by any preparations

parations for a war. It is not a little remarkable, that in this conteſt the orators of the *federaliſts* held the ſame language which, three years before, had been employed againſt them by their opponents; when on the queſtion of ſending Mr. Jay to England, the *anti-federaliſts* recommended vigorous meaſures, to reſtore the United States from the ruinous and humiliating condition to which they were reduced by England—and that the *anti-federaliſts*, to cruſh the hoſtile ſpirit which the other party expreſſed againſt France, advanced the ſame arguments which the governing party uſed on the former queſtion, to recommend conciliatory meaſures toward England. The members of the houſe of repreſentatives who, although generally voting with the *federaliſts*, were not in the ſecrets of the party, on this occaſion carried the votes of the congreſs toward conciliatory meaſures. The debates, however, were more violent than ever. They were more than ever filled with perſonal abuſe, eſpecially on the ſide of the *federaliſts*, who accuſed their adverſaries of having adviſed the inſults that the ſtates received from France, and of being engaged by the French government to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country, and by this accuſation endeavoured to ſubject their opponents to the odium of the people.

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The temper of the two parties continues to be the ſame at this time; and ſo inveterate is their mutual hatred, their reſpective policy is ſo widely aſunder and ſo rooted in their affections, and their reciprocal inſults are ſo many and ſo offenſive, that it is impoſſible to hope for a reconciliation. It is the buſineſs of the politician to enquire into the final iſſue of their ſtrife. I have here undertaken only to ſtate facts, in order to give an idea of the ſtate of theſe parties. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that the names of *federaliſt* and *anti-federaliſt*, by which they are moſt commmonly known, are as little conformable to the meaning of theſe words as the denominations *Engliſh adherents* and *French adherents*, which they mutually give to each other. Their ſeveral objects are, to give the conſtitution a monarchical or a republican tendency; and to find, in the ambiguity of parts of its text, an authority for their deſigns, as circumſtances happen to favour one or the other. Both the parties are attached to the union; and I am perſuaded that the *anti-federaliſts* cannot, with the leaſt juſtice, be reproached with being leſs ſo than their opponents. The one is the governing party, the other is in oppoſition; and we know that when parties have long combated with each other, their original objects become ſecondary. Their love of power,

and their hatred of each other, are motives continually acting upon them; and every occaſion of gratifying their rage, jealouſy, and ambition, is mutually ſeized by them. It is to be ignorant of the paſſions of party, not to know, that they are as tumultuous as any that can agitate and torment individuals and ſociety. The imputation of being adherents of France or England, is as unfounded as the other. The leaders of one party look to England as the natural ſupport of their power, eſpecially ſince France became a republic; but they do not wiſh to ſubjugate America to Engliſh influence. It is ſaid, and not without the appearance of probability, that there are individuals among them who carry their attachment to England ſomething further than this; having in contemplation, either the reunion of America to England, or the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy with a houſe of peers, that ſhall be cloſely and permanently allied to Great Britain. But if there are ſuch, as will be readily enough believed, they are not the whole of thoſe leaders, and they do not admit the reſt into their ſecret; for in that caſe they would ſoon ſee the number of their adherents diminiſh. It is by exciting a hatred of ſome of the meaſures of France, and, by a common fraud, turning that hatred againſt France herſelf, that theſe perſons

endeavour

endeavour to execute that project, while they conceal from their partizans their real deſigns.

I cannot be perſuaded that the American government has entered into theſe deſigns, which appear to me to be too far removed from common ſenſe to be adopted by the government, and to be rather the views of individuals blinded by their intereſts and paſſions. Yet, if we look coolly at the conduct of the government from the time of concluding the treaty with England, if we conſider how little conciliatory meaſures towards France have been ſtudied in its public acts, how profuſely its miniſters have laviſhed inſults on the French in their public diſpatches, and how profound a reſpect the ſame miniſters, at the very ſame time, expreſſed for the government and the miniſters of England, and, finally, what rude language toward France, equally removed from prudence and decency, has been held by the immediate dependants of the government in both houſes of the legiſlature, we ſhall acknowledge, that it is not without appearance the American government is accuſed of a partiality for England, which is not the genuine reſult of an attention to the intereſts of the United States. On the other hand, if it be recollected, that there is a neceſſity, or, at leaſt, that there is the habit in politics, as well as in private tranſactions, of following

lowing one falſe ſtep by another ſtill more erroneous, to avoid an acknowledgment of miſtake, and, ſtill more, the giving an advantage to the oppoſite party—if we take into the account that Mr. Pickering, the American ſecretary of ſtate, who was the author of the diſpatches I have alluded to, and the principal actor in the ſcene, did not acquire his ſituation (for which no intelligent perſon of his party deemed him qualified, either by his talents, or his political experience) but in conſequence of its being refuſed by a more able man, to whom it had been offered by Mr. Waſhington, at that time preſident, and that the difficulty of finding another perſon to fill the office is as great now as it was then (for the offices of government are in little requeſt in America, which is unqueſtionably a misfortune, if it be not a vice proceeding from the conſtitution), and that the machinations of a party are employed in making the difficulty of finding Mr. Pickering a ſucceſſor, appear greater than it really is—if we call to mind the reaſonable diſcontent of the American merchants at the piracies committed on their property by the privateers and the governments of the French iſlands, and the general indignation of the people, although not immediately affected by theſe acts of piracy, we ſhall perhaps give another interpretation to the preference

ference which is given to England, than that of a determination to ſubjugate the American ſtates to Engliſh influence; a meaſure that would meet with the moſt active oppoſition among the *federaliſts* themſelves, and which never can be carried into effect, unleſs France becomes an unnatural accomplice in the ſcheme by acts toward America contrary to her intereſt, her juſtice, and the greatneſs of her character.

As to a party conſiſting of adherents of France, it can with leſs truth be ſaid to exiſt in the United States than a party devoted to England. I conſider it to be a natural thing, that men who have uniformly endeavoured to give a republican tendency to the American conſtitution ſhould look up to the preſent conſtitution of France as affording aid to their pretenſions; but I am perſuaded the *anti federaliſts* entertain no deſigns derogatory to the independence and intereſts of the ſtates. When the governing party affect to forget the ſervices rendered by France to America, and boaſt of it as part of their political ſyſtem, it is not ſurpriſing that their opponents more warmly cheriſh the remembrance of thoſe ſervices, and of the calamities inflicted by England, which latter ſeem to be forgotten by the government. The members of the legiſlature, who form the oppoſition, betray no criminal at-

tachment to France; nor exhibit any ſigns of voting through the influence of the French government; nor have the appearance, in any reſpect, of looking toward France with any other feelings than thoſe that naturally ſpring from the intereſt the United States have in an alliance with her—chiefly to balance the Engliſh influence, which they imagine they have too much reaſon to fear. I am ſtill perſuaded I am warranted in ſtating, that there is really in America leſs of what may be called a French party than an Engliſh one. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the miſconduct of France, or to the want of addreſs in her old or her new government, or to an indifference to the gaining a party here, but it is certain the French have no party in this country. Whoever will give himſelf the trouble to look ſteadily at the politics of the country, will be convinced with me that this is fact.

I am far from conſidering this as a ſubject of complaint; and I ſhould be glad that it could be aſcribed to the wiſdom of the French government. The object of a government that forms a party in a foreign nation, is to influence its public acts, and to controul it by intrigue. The object is as deſtitute of juſtice as of magnanimity; it undermines the independence of the foreign ſtate,

ſtate, and the rights of nations; and its means are of the moſt odious nature, being no other than the ſowing of corruption and domeſtic diſſenſions in the country. Where ſuch purpoſes can be obtained, by ſuch means, deteſtable as one and the other are, the ſucceſs can be but temporary. They are ſoon countermined by the uſe of the ſame means by the rival nation; and the only certain effect they leave behind is the depravity and conſequent misfortunes of the people among whom they are practiſed. Although I hazard the diſgrace of being deemed romantic in my ſentiments on this ſubject, I am not the leſs willing to declare, that I conſider generoſity, good faith, and ſound morals as the means of ſucceſs the moſt efficacious and eaſily applied, in politics as well as in private conduct. How much is the power of a nation augmented, in the character it acquires, that demands nothing that is not juſt, and that gives in its treaties with other nations even more than is demanded. The intrigues of a rival nation with any of its allies will be more readily and perfectly defeated by a frank and plain conduct, than by an imitation of thoſe intrigues, which, in truth, places the nation that employs them in a ſtate of real hoſtility with that to whom it is even then, by its miniſters, making profeſſions of friendſhip. The

reputation and importance of moſt cabinets, and moſt ambaſſadors, no doubt, would be infinitely reduced, if they were compelled to renounce their intrigues, but the intereſts of ſtates, and the happineſs of the people would as certainly be greatly increaſed; and it is a matter that I can not queſtion, that, if a regard to integrity is incapable of working a revolution in the policy of cabinets, ſuch a revolution will inevitably be brought about by the natural progreſs of knowledge, which cannot fail to prove its utility.

Although the elections for offices in the federal government, and thoſe in the ſeveral ſtates, are under the influence of party, my reader muſt not conclude that the inhabitants of the United States univerſally range themſelves on the ſide of one or other of the parties. Many are ignorant of their motives and objects; and a great number of others regard them with indifference, having no other intention than to return the candidate moſt proper for the office, and permitting themſelves to be directed in their votes by ſuch as they deem to be better informed on the ſubject than themſelves. The ſecurity of liberty, the independence of the United States, and the preſervation of the preſent form of government, are the objects of their attachment; and, in general, they live in the pleaſing perſuaſion

ſuaſion that there can be no other ſentiment in public affairs.

A painful recollection of the calamities inflicted by England, during their ſtruggles for independence, and a grateful remembrance of the ſervices rendered them by France at the ſame period, are the common ſentiments of the country; and the partiality for France is, no doubt, increaſed by the reflection that ſhe contends for liberty with the enemy that oppoſed their independence; and by a perſuaſion that it was in America that France was firſt taught to love liberty. This preference, however, for the intereſts of France is by no means ſo obſtinate as not to give way to a conviction, where it is excited, that France has deſigns upon the independence of the United States; and it is by engendering ſuſpicions of that nature, that the party in oppoſition to the French intereſts, and their writers, have endeavoured for a year paſt to ſhake the attachment of the people to the French cauſe. To this end calumnies on the French government, and falſe and inſidious conſtructions of their conduct, have been induſtriouſly ſpread through America.

Whatever has come within my own obſervation, or I have gathered from others, convinces me that I have given a faithful picture of the maſs of

of the inhabitants of the American States, and I cannot imagine that it will be ſaid—that an affectionate remembrance of the ſhare which France had in the eſtabliſhment of American independence, and the reſolution not to ſuffer herſelf to make the ſlighteſt breach in that great work, erected as it was with ſuch immenſe coſt, are, either one or the other, ſentiments diſcreditable to the American people.

NEW STATES FORMED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

At the time of the completion of the new conſtitution in 1787, and the firſt ſittings of the new congreſs in 1789, the Union conſiſted of no more than thirteen ſtates; but, ſince that period, three have been added in the manner preſcribed in ſuch caſes by the conſtitution. Kentucky, which was a diſtrict dependent on the State of Virginia, was raiſed into a ſtate by an act of congreſs, of the 4th of February 1791; and Vermont, which was a part of New Hampſhire, was erected into a ſtate on the 18th of June in the ſame year; and, on the 1ſt of June 1796, Tenneſſee, formerly part of North Carolina, and after the acceptance of the conſtitution voluntarily ceded by that ſtate to the Union, under the name

of

of *The Government of the Territories on the South of the Ohio*, was alſo declared an independent ſtate.

The province of Maine, part of the State of Maſſachuſetts, has demanded to be erected into a ſeparate ſtate; and will probably be declared ſuch in the firſt or ſecond ſeſſion of the next congreſs, and it is to be expected that the Union, if it preſerves its independence, will at length conſiſt of a greater number of ſtates than at preſent, by portions of territory being diſmembered from the ſtates of the greateſt extent, and erected into independent ſtates.

Beſides the ſixteen ſtates which at preſent form the Union, there is an immenſe tract of land, bearing the name of *The Territory on the North-Weſt of the Ohio*, which is attached as a diſtrict to the ſovereignty of the Union, and is under the immediate juriſdiction of the congreſs. The act which formed this territory into a diſtrict under the old congreſs, on the 1ſt of July 1787, was afterwards modified by the new conſtitution. A governor, a ſecretary, and three judges, appointed by the preſident of the United States, the firſt for three years and the others for four, compoſe the proviſional government of this territory; which, although it includes more than two hundred and fifty millions of acres, contains only four

four thouſand white people. The Indians form the greater part of its population; but even their numbers are not great. By a law of the old congreſs, of the 13th of July 1787, this territory was authoriſed to chuſe a legiſlative aſſembly when its population of white people ſhould amount to fifty thouſand. The ſame law included other liberal regulations, aſſociating the *Territory on the North-Weſt of the Ohio* with the reſt of America in the rights granted by the conſtitution. It alſo enjoined the inhabitants to obſerve a juſt and friendly conduct towards the Indians. It prohibited the purchaſe of lands from the Indians by individuals without the expreſs authority of congreſs; and declared that this territory ſhould bear its ſhare in the expences of the federal government, and in the payment of the debts of the Union.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT, OF THE UNITED STATES.

The election of the preſident of the United States being a ſubject of the moſt weighty importance in this country, and it having happened that I was in America when an election to that high office took place, I am perſuaded there are many details relative to the ſubject that will be given here with advantage.

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The conſtitution, in the article on the executive power, having determined the conditions required for the office of preſident, and the extent and duration of its powers, enjoins the mode of election to the reſpective offices of preſident and vice-preſident; but I will not again cite the text, which will be found in the firſt ſection of the ſecond article of the conſtitution.

On the 13th of September 1788, the old congreſs, having received the ratification of the conſtitution from eleven ſtates, and the other forms preſcribed for its ratification being complied with, declared the conſtitution to be in force. It appointed the firſt Wedneſday of the following January, for the chooſing the electors in the different ſtates that had ratified the conſtitution, which electors were to nominate the preſident; and the firſt Wedneſday in the February following, for the aſſembling of the electors in the ſeveral ſtates, to chuſe the preſident; and the firſt Wedneſday of March, for the aſſembling of the new congreſs at New York, (at that time the ſeat of the government), when the ſeveral branches of the government were to commence their proceedings under the new conſtitution.

George Waſhington was elected preſident, on the firſt Wedneſday in February 1789; and entered on the exerciſe of his functions, with the other

other authorities, on the firſt Wedneſday of the following March. He had been preſident of the convention; his name had reſounded in every part of America; the gratitude and veneration of the public were not only his due, but eagerly accorded to him; and his election was without a diſſenting voice. John Adams was at the ſame time elected vice-preſident.

The conſtitution, in furniſhing the legiſlature with a general rule for the election of preſident and vice-preſident, had not provided for every kind of vacancy that might occur, but had committed that taſk to the legiſlature; and I think it neceſſary to give the law as it exiſts at preſent on that ſubject.

LAW RELATIVE TO THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PASSED IN CONGRESS ON THE FIRST OF MARCH 1792, IN VIRTUE OF AN ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Sect. 1ſt. The caſe of the election of preſident or vice-preſident of the United States before the uſual period of election, which caſe is hereinafter provided for, being excepted, the electors for the chuſing the preſident and vice-preſident ſhall be named within thirty-four days immediately

ately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December, 1792; and thenceforth, within thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December in the fourth year after the laſt election. The ſaid electors ſhall be equal in number to that of the ſenators and repreſentatives in congreſs, of which the ſeveral ſtates ſhall have a right to compoſe their deputation, at the time when the preſident and vice-preſident to be choſen ſhall enter into office: provided that, if the new apportioning of repreſentatives, in virtue of the new enumeration of the inhabitants, ſhall not take place before the period for chuſing the electors, then the number of electors ſhall be proportioned to the number of ſenators and repreſentatives of the preſent congreſs.

Sect. 2d. The electors ſhall aſſemble and vote on the firſt Wedneſday of December, in each ſtate, at ſuch place as ſhall be named by the legiſlature of the ſtate; and ſhall draw up and ſign three certificates of their reſpective votes, and ſhall fold up and ſeal the ſame ſeparately, and ſhall indorſe upon the cover of each packet a declaration, that it contains a liſt of the votes of the ſtate for the preſident and vice-preſident; and every elector, or the majority of electors, ſhall appoint by ballot the perſon to whom they will entruſt one of the ſaid certificates, to be by him conveyed

conveyed to the preſident of the ſenate, at the place of reſidence of the government, before the firſt Wedneſday of the January following; and ſhall addreſs another of the ſaid certificates, by the poſt, to the preſident of the ſenate, at the place of reſidence of the government; and ſhall tranſmit the third of the ſaid certificates to the judge of the diſtrict in which their aſſembly ſhall be held.

Sect. 3d. The executive power in each ſtate ſhall cauſe to be drawn up, and properly certified, three liſts of the names of the electors of the ſtate, and ſhall tranſmit the ſame to the electors before the firſt Wedneſday of December; and the electors ſhall add one of the ſaid liſts to each of the before-mentioned liſts of their votes.

Sect. 4th. In the caſe of a liſt of the votes of a ſtate not arriving at the place of reſidence of the government on the firſt Wedneſday in January, the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall diſpatch an expreſs to the judge of the diſtrict of ſuch ſtate, in whoſe hands the third certificate ſhall have been depoſited, who ſhall tranſmit it by the ſame meſſenger to the place of reſidence of the government.

Sect. 5th. The congreſs ſhall commence its ſittings on the ſecond Wedneſday of February, 1793; and thenceforth, on the ſecond Wedneſday of

of the February following each aſſembly of electors; and the certificates, or as many of them as ſhall have arrived, ſhall be opened, the votes counted, and names of the perſons elected to fill the offices of preſident and vice-preſident declared and proclaimed, according to the forms of the conſtitution.

Sect. 6th. In the caſe of the preſident of the ſenate not being preſent at the place of reſidence of the government, on the arrival of perſons charged with the liſts of the votes of the electors, ſuch perſon ſhall deliver the liſts to the ſecretary of ſtate, who ſhall carefully preſerve them, and remit them as ſoon as poſſible to the preſident of the ſenate.

Sect. 7th. The perſons appointed by the electors to convey the liſts to the preſident of the ſenate, ſhall receive, at the time of delivering the ſaid liſts, fifteen pence per mile for the diſtance, by the high road, from the place of election to the reſidence of the government.

Sect. 8th. If any perſon, being appointed to convey the votes of the electors to the preſident of the ſenate, and having accepted that truſt, ſhall neglect to diſcharge the ſame, he ſhall incur a penalty of one thouſand dollars.

Sect. 9th. In the caſe of the removal, death, reſignation, or incapacity to fill his office, of the

preſident or vice-preſident, the provifional preſident of the ſenate, or, where no ſuch officer has been appointed, the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, ſhall fulfil the duties of preſident of the United States, or vice-preſident, until the preſident or vice-preſident ſhall reſume his functions, or a new election ſhall take place.

Sect. 10th. When the offices of preſident and vice-preſident ſhall become vacant at the ſame time, the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall give notice of the ſame to the executive power of each ſtate; and ſhall publiſh the ſaid notice in one gazette at leaſt of each ſtate, in which it ſhall be declared that the electors for the preſident of the United States will be appointed or choſen in the ſeveral ſtates, within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of the month of December following, provided a ſpace of two months ſhall intervene between the date of ſuch notice, and the firſt Wedneſday of the December following; but when the ſaid ſpace of time ſhall not ſo intervene, or if the term for which the late preſident and vice-preſident were elected does not expire on the third day of March following, then the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall declare in ſuch notice that the electors are to be appointed or choſen within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December

December in the following year; and the electors ſhall be appointed accordingly, and ſhall proceed as is provided in this act.

Sect. 11th. The only evidence that ſhall be required of the refuſal to accept the office of preſident or vice-preſident, or reſignation of either of the ſaid offices, ſhall be a declaration in writing to that effect, ſigned by the perſon refuſing to accept or reſigning ſuch office, which ſhall be tranſmitted to and depoſited in the office of the ſecretary of ſtate.

Sect. 12th. The term for which the preſident and vice-preſident ſhall be choſen ſhall be four years; commencing, in all caſes, on the 4th of March following the day of the election.

By the proviſions of this law, as well as thoſe of the conſtitution, the power of declaring the manner of nominating the electors who were to chooſe the preſident and vice-preſident, was left to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates; and the reſult was, that a uniform mode was not adopted. In ſome of the ſtates the people were left to nominate *the electors*, in the ſame manner as they voted for other offices; in others, that power was confided to the legiſlatures themſelves. The following is a ſtatement ſhewing which of theſe modes was adopted by each ſtate reſpectively.

States in which the Electors for the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the United States are named by the People.

Maſſachuſetts.	Kentucky.
Pennſylvania.	South Carolina.
Virginia.	Georgia.
Tenneſſee.	

States in which the Electors for the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the United States are named by the Legiſlature.

Vermont.	Delaware.
New Hampſhire.	New Jerſey.
Connecticut.	Maryland.
Rhode Iſland.	North Carolina.
New York.	

It is certainly a circumſtance at which one can ſcarcely expreſs too much ſurpriſe, that a public act, including an intereſt ſo weighty and general as that of the choice of preſident, ſhould not be conducted on uniform principles throughout the ſtates; and that the privilege of nominating *the electors* ſhould not univerſally reſide in the people. The advocates for its reſiding in the legiſlatures contend, that the legiſlatures, being

ing choſen by the people, and for a ſhort period, their nomination of electors is, in fact, that of the people; and that the nomination of electors being always at a ſtated period, the people, when they chooſe the legiſlature, have it before their eyes that it has the electors to name, and therefore are called to vote for ſuch members as they imagine may be entruſted with that function. Their opponents maintain, that the election of the preſident and vice-preſident by the people, in an immediate and direct manner, is an inalienable right, and which it was the intention of the conſtitution to ratify; that the conſtitution, in leaving it to the ſeveral legiſlatures to declare the manner of nominating the electors, had in view only the place and time of their aſſembling, and never meant to intrench upon one of the moſt ſacred rights of the people; and that, although the legiſlatures are choſen for a ſhort period, and the time of nominating the electors is fixed, ſo that the people may always, in their choice of the members of the legiſlature, keep in mind that particular truſt, yet the functions of legiſlator and of elector are ſo abſolutely diſtinct, that the man who is the moſt proper for one may be extremely unfit for the other.

Mr. Waſhington was a ſecond time choſen preſident of the United States, on the firſt Wed-

neſday in December 1792, but not unanimouſly, as in the former inſtance, an oppoſition already beginning to ſhew itſelf in the Union. He had, however, a majority, which was the greater, becauſe many of thoſe in oppoſition perceiving that he would be choſen in deſpite of their efforts, did not declare openly againſt him, while ſome of that party even gave him their vote. John Adams was again elected vice-preſident, with a majority that greatly exceeded the votes of any of the other candidates.

In the month of October 1796, Mr. Waſhington publicly declared his reſolution of retiring, on account of infirmities of age, and requeſted his friends and adherents not to nominate him.

The ſcrutiny for preſident and vice-preſident was made in a ſitting held for that purpoſe, according to the terms of the law. The ſenate having come down to the chamber occupied by the repreſentatives, took their ſeats on the right, as is the cuſtom when the two houſes unite for particular objects. The vice-preſident, acting in his capacity of preſident of the ſenate, was ſeated in a chair on the right of that occupied by the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives. The chairs of the preſident of the ſenate, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, ſtood upon a platform, elevated for the purpoſe. One commiſſioner,

miſſioner, appointed by the ſenate, and two by the other houſe, ſat at a table at the foot of the platform; and the ſecretaries of the two houſes were reſpectively placed at tables that of the ſenate on the right, and the other on the left of the platform, and immediately below it. The ſecretary of the ſenate having read the law regulating the mode of opening the ſcrutiny, and the inſtruments of the two houſes reſpectively appointing the commiſſioners, the vice-preſident ſucceſſively drew from two boxes, which ſtood before him, the votes from the ſeveral ſtates for the nomination of preſident and vice-preſident of the United States. The votes, together with papers relative to the election, were ſealed up in a packet from each ſtate, agreeable to the law of the 1ſt of March, 1792. The vice-preſident, having broken the ſeals, read the general return of the election of each ſtate, certifying its validity; after which, the ſecretary of the ſenate declared the ſeveral votes of the electors, and read their ſeveral ſignatures. All the papers were then, by order of the vice-preſident, handed to the commiſſioners, who mutually examined and checked the whole, and ſeverally made entries of the votes for each candidate.. Mr. SEDGWICK, the commiſſioner of the ſenate, having compared

and checked his liſt with thoſe of Mr. SITGREAVE and Mr. PARKER, the commiſſioners of the houſe of repreſentatives, read aloud the general ſummary of the returns, in the order in which the ſeveral packets had been opened by the preſident. The following is a copy of the ſummary.

Names

Names of the States.	John Adams	Pinckney	Jefferſon	Burr	Sam. Adams	Patrick Henry	Jay	Clinton	G. Waſhington	J. Johnſon	H. Elſeworth
New Hampſhire	6										6
Maſſachuſetts	16	13								2	1
Rhode Iſland	4										4
Connecticut	9	4					5				
Vermont	4	4									
New York	12	12									
New Jerſey	7	7									
Pennſylvania	1	2	14	13							
Delaware	3	3									
Maryland	7	4	4	3		2					
Virginia	1	1	20	1	15			3	1		
Kentucky			4	4							
Teneſſee			3	3							
North Carolina	1	1	11	6					1		
South Carolina		8	8								
Georgia			4					4			
Total	71	59	68	30	15	2	5	7	2	2	11

The

The vice-preſident then declared, that in virtue of the conſtitution, the candidate having the greateſt number of votes above an abſolute majority of the electors, was the perſon appointed to be preſident; and that the total number of electors being one hundred and thirty-nine, the candidate having ſeventy-one votes was in the preſent caſe duly elected.

As the choice fell upon himſelf, and by his preſent office it became his duty to proclaim himſelf preſident, he betrayed evident ſigns of embarraſſment; and did not recover from his agitation till after ſome moments of ſilence; when he declared, that John Adams, having ſeventy-one votes, a number beyond an abſolute majority required by the conſtitution, and no candidate having more votes, John Adams was elected and proclaimed preſident of the United States for four years—and that Thomas Jefferſon, having ſixty-eight votes, and no other candidate having the ſame number, was elected and proclaimed vice-preſident, for the ſame term of four years. He concluded this conciſe proclamation, by beſeeching the Almighty to favour and protect the objects of the election.

The functions of the new preſident were not to commence till the 4th of March; and John Adams, in his quality of vice-preſident, continued

to

to be preſident of the ſenate. Fifteen days afterwards, he requeſted that houſe to name a proviſional preſident, that he might employ the interval in preparing for the functions of his high office.

The ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe duty it was to inform Mr. Jefferſon of his nomination to the office of vice-preſident, ſent an expreſs to him for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time a duplicate of the diſpatch by the regular poſt. The precaution turned out to be neceſſary; for the extraordinary meſſenger fell ſo ſuddenly and extremely ill, at the diſtance of forty miles from Philadelphia, that he was not even able to declare the object of his diſpatches; and it was by the poſt that Mr. Jefferſon received the account of his nomination. Mr. Jefferſon proceeded to Philadelphia, and on the 4th of March the new members of the executive authority entered on their functions.

The houſe of repreſentatives, which by the conſtitution was diſſolved on the 3d of March of its ſecond year, no longer exiſted. The conſtitution, in preſcribing to the new preſident the neceſſity of taking the oath before he entered on the exerciſe of his functions, had not declared at what time, or in what manner, or before whom the oath was to be taken. John Adams followed the example of his predeceſſor; he repaired to the

the houſe of repreſentatives, preceded by the ſheriffs, marſhals, and other officers, and placed himſelf in the chair occupied by the ſpeaker during the ſittings of the houſe. Such members of the ſenate as remained in the town, took their ordinary ſeats; the other ſeats were filled with ſpectators, among whom were many ladies. Mr. Jefferſon, the new vice-preſident, placed himſelf at the foot of the platform on the right, and the late ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives on the left. In the front, and round a table, were four of the judges of the ſupreme court of the United States, among whom was Mr. ELSWORTH, the chief juſtice. The galleries and tribunes were crowded. The foreign miniſters, although not formally invited, attended without ceremony, and, with many others, ſtood behind the platform. The preſident, the ſimplicity of whoſe dreſs was not diſtinguiſhed by any thing but a black cockade and a ſword, pronounced a diſcourſe, in which he declared his political faith; after which, having deſcended from the platform, he repeated, in a loud voice, the uſual oath, after the chief-juſtice, and kiſſed the book of the evangeliſts, and then returned to the platform. In a ſhort time after, he retired, preceded by the officers who accompanied him on his entrance.

Nothing

Nothing can be more ſimple than the ceremony of this inſtallation; but this very ſimplicity has ſomething in it ſo delightful, ſo noble, and ſo nearly reſembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and ſeizes upon our worthieſt affections. I ſpeak at leaſt of the effect it produced on my feelings. This change of the perſons exerciſing the moſt awful functions of the ſtate, with ſo little pomp, but with ſo great ſolemnity; and which places a man who, the evening before, was among the crowd of ſimple citizens, at the head of the government, while he who held the firſt office of the ſtate the preceding evening, is returned again to the claſs of ſimple citizens—is full of the qualities that conſtitute true greatneſs.

The preſence of the late preſident, who mingled with the other ſpectators of this ſcene, added to its intereſt, and compleated the greatneſs of its effect.

Mr. Jefferſon, having returned to the chamber of the ſenate, took the oath, in preſence of the members and the ſecretary; having firſt pronounced a ſhort diſcourſe, full of talent and wiſdom, and which received the approbation of all who did not attend with a reſolution to be diſſatisfied with Mr. Jefferſon's conduct.

DFPART-

DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER, IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

There are three departments in the executive government—the department of ſtate, that of finances, and that of war. A perſon, who bears the title of ſecretary of the department, is at the head of each; they act under the authority of the preſident, who may avail himſelf of their councils when he thinks proper, but is not compelled to do ſo.

An attorney-general of the United States is attached to the executive government; whoſe functions are, to proſecute in the ſupreme court of the States, all ſuits in which the government of the Union is intereſted, and to give his opinion on matters relative to law to the preſident, when he demands it; and to the heads of the ſeveral departments, in law matters concerning the department, when it is required of him. Laws that have paſſed ſince the creation of the office of attorney-general of the United States, have appointed the perſon who fills that office, one of the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund, and for the reduction of the national debt.

He is permitted, in common with the attornies-general of the ſeveral ſtates, to purſue his profeſſion in the affairs of individuals.

JUDICATURE.

The judicature of the United States is compoſed of courts of diſtrict, courts of circuit, and a ſupreme court; and theſe have excluſive juriſdiction of all ſuits that affect the intereſts of the Union. The courts of diſtrict are held in every ſtate four times a year, by a judge appointed by the general government, and reſiding for that purpoſe in the ſtate. They take cognizance of crimes and offences againſt the general laws of the Union, committed within the diſtrict, or on the ſea within its juriſdiction, when the penalty does not exceed thirty ſtripes with a whip, or the payment of a hundred dollars; and of all cauſes belonging to the admiralty, including ſeizures made in purſuance of the laws of the general government relative to imports, commerce, or navigation, when ſuch ſeizures are made within their juriſdiction. They have alſo cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the particular ſtate, and the courts of circuit, of cauſes in which foreigners complain of wrongs done in violation of the law of nations, or in violation of any treaty of the United States; and of all cauſes to be determined by the common law, in which the general government is the plaintiff, and when the objects in diſpute do not exceed the value of a hundred

hundred dollars. The courts of diſtrict have alſo excluſive cognizance of ſuits againſt conſuls and vice-conſuls. All cauſes determined by the courts of diſtrict, except thoſe concerning the admiralty, are tried by jury.

The courts of circuit are held by a judge of the ſupreme court, and judges of the diſtrict. The United States are divided into three circuits; the eaſtern circuit, compriſing the ſtates on the eaſt, extending to, but excluſive of New York; the midland circuit, compriſing the ſtates of New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and the ſouthern circuit, compriſing the ſtates to the ſouth of Virginia. Courts of circuit are held twice a year in each ſtate: they have cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the different ſtates, of all civil cauſes, where the matter in diſpute amounts to the value of five hundred dollars, independent of the expences of the ſuit, and in which the Union is intereſted, or a foreigner is a party, or the diſpute is between citizens of different ſtates; and an excluſive cognizance of all criminal matters committed againſt the Union. They are alſo courts of appeal from the judgment of the courts of diſtrict.

The ſupreme court of the Union is compoſed of a chief-juſtice, and five judges, which latter have

have rank among themſelves, according to the dates of their appointment; it holds its ſittings twice a year, at the place which is the ſeat of the government; it has excluſive juriſdiction over all civil cauſes where any one of the ſtates is a party, except where the adverſe party is a citizen of the ſame ſtate; and over all ſuits inſtituted againſt foreign ambaſſadors or envoys, or their domeſtics, conſiſtently with the law of nations. Its juriſdiction extends alſo, but not excluſively, to ſuits in which an ambaſſador or other foreign miniſter is plaintiff, or in which conſuls or vice-conſuls are intereſted. It is a general court of appeal from the judgment of the courts of circuit, or of the different tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates.

All the federal courts have authority to make rules to regulate proceedings before them, and to adminiſter oaths.

The attorney-general of the United States, who muſt reſide at the ſeat of government, conducts the cauſes of the government in the ſupreme court; and a counſel appointed by the general government reſides in each ſtate or diſtrict, to conduct in the courts of diſtrict and courts of circuit criminal and civil cauſes on behalf of the government.

The diſtance of the ſtates of Kentucky and Tenneſſee, and of the province of Maine, from

the ſeat of the federal government, making it inconvenient to hold courts of circuit in them, their courts of diſtrict are authoriſed to exerciſe the juriſdiction belonging to the courts of circuit, except in caſes of appeal, which are carried before the ſupreme federal court. The ſame authority is given to the courts of diſtrict in the territories of the north-weſt, which as yet are not formed into a ſtate.

The juries that ſerve in the federal courts are choſen according to the forms obſerved in the reſpective ſtates where theſe courts happen to be held.

CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.

The crimes and offences of which the federal tribunals take cognizance, are only ſuch as are committed againſt the Union, or committed in territories under the immediate juriſdiction of the Union. In the firſt claſs are—treaſons; rebellions; refuſal to pay impoſts enjoined by the Union; ſmuggling; frauds committed by officers of the revenue, in matters of revenue; in a word, every offence againſt laws paſſed by the congreſs. In the ſecond claſs are—crimes and offences committed on the ſeas, or in forts or arſenals belonging to the Union; and, in caſe of the ſeat of government being removed to Federal-city, all crimes and offences, of what nature ſoever,

ſoever, committed in that city, or in a diſtrict ſurrounding it of ten miles ſquare.

The crime of treaſon, as it is defined by the conſtitution; wilful murders, committed in forts, arſenals, &c. belonging to the Union, or committed on board of American veſſels in the open ſeas, or in the ſeveral roads; the treachery of maſters diſpoſing of veſſels or cargoes committed to their charge, for their own profit, or delivering ſuch veſſels to pirates; a conſpiracy of ſailors to prevent the maſter from defending himſelf againſt pirates; piracies committed by citizens of the United States, under foreign colours, on the veſſels or cargoes belonging to the Union, or to citizens of the Union; forging of national ſecurities; debaſing of money by officers of the mint, or thefts committed by them of gold or ſilver coin from the mint; theft of money or notes from letters, made by the letter-carriers of the poſt offices; and the robbery or opening of the mail on the highways, or the robbery of them in the poſt offices, or opening of them by perſons not authoriſed—are crimes puniſhed with death.

Robbery, and the receiving of ſtolen goods, are puniſhed with whipping, which is never to exceed thirty-nine ſtripes; and forging of bills of lading, ſhip's books, or regiſters, or other ſuch documents, are puniſhed with the pillory, and

impriſonment not to exceed more than three years.

All other crimes and offences againſt the general government, including dealings in the ſlave trade, which the laws of the Union prohibit, are puniſhed by fines and impriſonment of various degrees.

Although the criminal juriſprudence of the Union cannot be charged with cruelty, when compared with that of moſt ſtates of Europe, eſpecially England, one is not the leſs ſurpriſed to ſee, in a code abounding with the puniſhments of whipping, the pillory, and death, that fine and impriſonment are the only puniſhments for the crimes of wilfully ſlitting the noſes, tongues, or ears of a human being.

I cannot prevail on myſelf to believe, that the congreſs will not, ere it be long, infuſe into its juriſprudence the benign temper of the legiſlature of Pennſylvania, whoſe example has been followed by many other of the ſtates. Independent of the great moral and political motives which recommend that conduct to the federal government, it muſt at length be moved by the hard and cruel contraſt of puniſhments inflicted in the ſame place, and for the ſame ſpecies of crime, according as the ſentence happens to be paſſed by the tribunals of the federal government, or

thoſe

thoſe of the reſpective ſtates—for the ſentence of a federal court is executed in the place where it is paſſed. This contraſt is painful in an uncommon degree at Philadelphia; where the Union having no priſon peculiar to itſelf, criminals ſentenced by the federal courts to impriſonment are confined in the ſame priſon with offenders ſentenced by the courts of Pennſylvania, but are not permitted to partake of the benefits of the humane and ſalutary regulations of that ſtate in its priſons.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

The laws of the Union in civil matters, like thoſe of the ſeveral ſtates, are for the moſt part the Engliſh laws, accompanied with all the delays and intricacies ariſing from complicated and difficult forms. It would be a great benefit conferred on the American people, to ſimplify the proceedings, and even many of the principles of the law; and it is a reform ſometimes talked of, but the undertaking is great and diſcouraging. The lawyers, educated in the principles of this embarraſſed code, and accuſtomed to its practices, would reluctantly change them for others; and it is to be ſuppoſed the greater part of them are ſo perſuaded of the ſuperior excellence of the ſyſtem, that they would oppoſe the introduction

of any other; and it is to be remembered that law-ſuits, although ruinous to clients, are the harveſt of lawyers. This claſs of men compoſes much more than half of the legiſlature of the Union, as well as of the legiſlatures of the different ſtates; and theſe, I am afraid, are too powerful reaſons to permit us to hope for any ſpeedy reform in the law.

One of the moſt remarkable laws of the Union is that relative to ſlavery; but it may be conſidered as ſpringing from principles of policy, rather than enlightened reaſons of juriſprudence. We have ſeen that the conſtitution permitted, *till* 1808, *the importation, in the ſeveral ſtates, of ſuch perſons as, till that period, the ſeveral ſtates ſhould judge it expedient to permit to be imported*; and by this deſcription the conſtitution meant to deſignate *ſlaves*; which temporary countenance given to the ſlave trade the conſtitution could not openly acknowledge, without an abſurd contradiction of the liberal principles it had premiſed; nor could it openly prohibit the ſlave trade, without a certainty of the law being oppoſed by the ſouthern ſtates. By this vague deſignation the framers of the conſtitution crept out of this embarraſſment; and, however groſs the ſubterfuge may be, we can ſcarcely blame them; ſince, while they preſerved the exiſtence of the Union

Union at the difficult period when the conſtitution was framed, they named a term not far diſtant for the extinction of that deteſtable traffic.

In 1796, the congreſs paſſed a law, prohibiting American veſſels to carry ſlaves, under the penalty of two thouſand dollars, and confiſcation of the ſlaves and veſſels; and this law, although ſometimes eluded, is for the greater part rigorouſly enforced, of which I have ſeen many inſtances during my ſtay in America. It is even difficult and expenſive to elude it; for the Quakers purſue offenders againſt this law with incredible activity and inveteracy. The merchants who make the attempt muſt provide falſe bills of lading, and make oath that the cargo is the property of foreign merchants, and employ others to take the ſame oath; and all this is attended with great expence.

A law of 1793, prohibits the giving of an aſylum to any perſon engaged to ſerve another, ordaining a fine to be levied upon all offenders in this caſe, and declaring, that the perſon who flies from his maſter ſhall be liable to be ſent back to him. In this law the congreſs avoided the uſe of the word *ſlaves*, although it was to provide againſt the flight or concealment of ſlaves that it was paſſed, there being little reaſon for apprehenſions about domeſtics engaged for a term.

The juriſprudence of the Union relative to ſlaves, is confined to theſe two articles.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The department of ſtate is alſo that of foreign affairs, which indeed form its principal buſineſs. The ſecretary of ſtate, who is at the head of this department, is the keeper of the ſeals of the Union. It is his office to counterſign the laws, and to promulgate them; he has the cuſtody of the papers of the old congreſs, and has other functions; but his principal employment is to tranſact affairs with foreign powers. The expences incurred for foreign affairs amounted, for the four firſt years after the ratification of the new conſtitution, to no more than forty thouſand dollars annually. Since that period the number of the miniſters and conſuls of the Union in foreign countries being encreaſed, the ordinary annual expences for foreign affairs have amounted to ſixty thouſand dollars; and the expences attending the execution of the different treaties made by the Union during the laſt three years, have occaſioned the granting of extraordinaries greatly exceeding the amount of ordinary expences. The treaty with Algiers coſt the Union more than nine hundred thouſand dollars. The amount of expences, ordinary and extraordinary,

for

for foreign affairs, from the year 1790 to this time, is more than two millions of dollars.

I am inclined to believe that the United States might have ſpared a great part of this expence, had their politics been directed with a little more wiſdom. Nor would the ſaving of money have been the greateſt advantage they would have reaped; it is probable they would have been able to ſhun the interior troubles, with which it is too plain they are now menaced; to avoid the very delicate and embarraſſing ſituations in which they have more than once been plunged, and are now more than ever involved; to preſerve the bleſſings of peace for many years; to ſecure the exiſtence of the Union, which is the ſource of their ſtrength, and which cannot be ſhaken but through their connection with foreign countries; in a word, to place out of the reach of danger that independence which they won with ſo much glory to themſelves, the right to which cannot be conteſted, but which has no longer any real exiſtence, except in the mouths of their own declaimers. Proud with reaſon of having thrown off the oppreſſive yoke of England, the United States were too ready to play a part among the nations of Europe; and to involve themſelves in the intereſts of foreign powers, from which nature had moſt happily ſeparated them. They involved

involved themſelves in thoſe foreign intereſts the moment they ſent miniſters to foreign courts, and received their miniſters in return; from that moment they expoſed themſelves to the dangers that the weak are placed in relative to the ſtrong, among nations as well as individuals; they reduced themſelves to the neceſſity of practiſing duplicity, an indiſpenſable condition, when he who is weak allies himſelf to him who is ſtrong; and the more indiſpenſable in politics, inaſmuch as juſtice has been hitherto contemned in that art, the will of the more powerful being the only law. In receiving foreign miniſters, they gave riſe to intrigues, the more dangerous, becauſe their maſters believed it to be their intereſt to diſturb their tranquillity, and check their growing proſperity. In a ſtate where political concerns are as yet little complicated, the reſidence of foreign miniſters is more miſchievous than in others, even when they have received no inſtructions from their courts to cultivate intrigues, which is a caſe difficult to imagine. They are ready enough to render themſelves of importance, and to give conſequence to their employments; if they ſucceed in ſome underhand practice, if they corrupt a ſecretary of ſtate, or ſome member of the government, if they pave the way for the influence and intereſts of their courts, or ſeem to

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do ſo, they are ſure to win the favour of their maſters, for courts will intrigue every where, and will have a party wherever they can; and thus they paſs for men of talents and induſtry; and while they ſow the ſeeds of diſcord in the countries where they reſide, they create a title to rewards, and gain a ſtep toward preferment. And theſe truths are the more alarming, in proportion as the cabinet that ſends the ambaſſador is ſtrong, and has an intereſt in leſſening the power of the ſtate where he reſides, and in proportion as that contains in it circumſtances dangerous to its unanimity; in a word, as it contains more or leſs of thoſe circumſtances whoſe combination forms the exiſtence of the United States.

The ambaſſadors of leſs powerful ſtates act on the ſame principles; and the application of them ſolely is different. They flatter the opinions of their cabinets, and lull them with ſtatements in which truth is not ſtrictly conſulted; and thus they cultivate, in their reſpective governments, opinions and deſigns miſchievous to their ſubjects. If it happens that they belong to a party at home, their diſpatches take the colour of the party. It is a univerſal paſſion to be of importance in the world, but the agents of governments are the moſt infected by it. They fill their diſpatches with hearſays, converſations, ſuſpicions uttered of ſome, denunciations againſt others, and reports

ports ſpringing from their prejudices only, from which they draw concluſions that fill the minds of their employers with perplexities, confirm them in their prejudices, and engage them in haſty and impolitic meaſures.

When a miniſter is charged with a negociation, the danger is ſtill more imminent. With whatever prudence and foreſight his cabinet may draw up his inſtructions, ſtill they muſt include ſome latitude. The ambaſſador's probity, his judgment, and his information, can be the only guarantees of his conforming himſelf to his inſtructions. He may even involuntarily exaggerate, in his correſpondence, the obſtacles he has to encounter; he may miſcalculate the overtures that are made to him, on the part of the ſtate with whom he treats; if he is to be corrupted, the miniſters with whom he has to deal will not fail to give him his price, and he will conſent to a treaty which ſacrifices ſome of the articles of his inſtructions, or includes articles not to be found in them. In a word, he will agree to ſomething contrary to the intentions of his court. How many more topics of the ſame kind might theſe obſervations include?—It is true the ratification of ſuch a treaty is not inevitable; but the government of a ſtate, already weak, is not in the ſame condition to refuſe the

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ratification of a treaty, ſigned by its ambaſſador, that a powerful ſtate is; and the danger that may be incurred by the refuſal gives great opportunity of intrigue for the ratification of ſuch a treaty.

A weak ſtate, which ſends and receives ambaſſadors, and would mingle in the concerns of powerful ſtates, can ſcarcely avoid being drawn into a party; its ambition and vanity will often hurry it on in a direction contrary to its uſual policy; and it never belongs to ſuch a ſtate to take a part in the differences of other governments, by which it only hazards its own proſperity, and ſometimes endangers its exiſtence.

Had the United States, after the glorious war they had maintained for their independence, opened their ports to all nations with equal advantages, and permitted their merchants to trade wherever their intereſt led them, and had been wiſe enough to abſtain from all other foreign relations, they would have approached nearer than at preſent to the object they deſire, of being a powerful government. In the midſt of internal tranquillity, they might have filled their arſenals, fortified their harbours, collected timber for the building ſhips of war, which they need not have ſent from their ports till they were ſtrong enough to protect the American flag; they might have eſcaped from their preſent ſituation, in which

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they are torn by domeſtic diſſentions, ſwayed by foreign influence, and, in truth, leſs independent than they were on the 4th of July, 1776—which ſituation is the entire reſult of the politics of the government, for their population is doubled, their wealth increaſed, and their people induſtrious, enterpriſing, ſagacious, and honeſt.

My opinion will, no doubt, find many opponents, and more eſpecially in America; but if it be well examined, I believe it will find alſo many partizans. As to myſelf, I am ſo penetrated with the conviction of its ſolidity, ſince my reſidence here has given me ſome knowledge of the affairs of the country, that I do not heſitate to pronounce—that the independence of the ſtates, and the tranquillity and happineſs of the people (a people ſo worthy of repoſe, and ſo admirably placed by nature to poſſeſs a durable repoſe), will never be enſured till the day in which the government deſtroys all political ties with Europe. By that policy, it is not perhaps yet too late to ſecure the proſperity of America, although infinite miſchiefs have been occaſioned by the foreign connections the government has cultivated during the laſt fourteen years.

In expreſſing my opinion on the dangers incurred by feeble ſtates in their connections with powerful ones, it is America, and America in her preſent

preſent ſituation, that I have had in view. If ſmall ſtates, ſuch as Genoa or Geneva, ſend ambaſſadors to powerful nations, it is to ſolicit protection, and to acquire ſubſidies; they are deſtined to be inferior; they can never be a grain in the political balance; they may, therefore, without danger to themſelves, indulge in diplomatic vanity. Does it belong to the United States, invited by nature and a concurrence of circumſtances to become a powerful nation, but which can never ſtand in that rank except through the medium of a long continued peace, to endanger that important event by a narrow policy? Can they ever doubt, that they are objects of the hatred of their former maſters?---A paſſion that is not leſs real for being enveloped in the forms of amity. Do they doubt, that the high deſtiny to which nature and the period of their birth called them, is an object of the jealouſy of the political foreſight of Europe? Have they not to fear their being the aliment of rivalry among the European powers, in the midſt of whoſe conteſts they cannot remain neuter without entire paſſiveneſs? But, as if they had no knowledge of theſe truths, they have, without neceſſity, and even wilfully, ſtaked all their advantages, and engendered maladies which already have tainted the ſtate and threaten to ſpread to its vitals, to gratify the vanity

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of making a figure, while yet in infancy, on the political theatre, with the old and powerful ſtates of Europe! It is with nations as with individuals, the premature uſe of the genial powers is ſucceeded by a life of debility and early decrepitude.

FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES; THEIR HISTORY, AND PRESENT SITUATION; TAXES; REVENUES, &c.

The new conſtitution had been contemplated and was framed to give the federal government a degree of power, the want of which was daily experienced by the former congreſs. Its weakneſs was chiefly felt in the levying of taxes, and the contributions of the ſeveral ſtates toward the expences of the Union. The demands of the war, too greatly diſproportioned to the reſources of the United States, had not been completely ſatisfied by the loans which France and their other allies furniſhed with a generoſity that now ſeems utterly forgotten. The congreſs, convinced as it was of the evils of a paper currency which had no exiſting funds for its foundation, was nevertheleſs forced into a prodigious emiſſion of that currency, having no guarantee but the faith of a public deſtitute of all means of repayment. The paper iſſued by the ſeveral ſtates

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was in ſimilar abundance; and throughout it was depreciated almoſt to nothing. This debt was to be univerſally provided for; funds were to be found for the expences of the general government; the neceſſity for the creating a ſyſtem of finance was apparent; and the old congreſs, feeling the importance of all theſe duties, by a direct declaration in 1783, pledged the honour of the United States for the payment of all the public creditors. The new congreſs, at the cloſe of its firſt ſeſſion, in September 1789, ordered the ſecretary of the treaſury of the Union to lay before the legiſlature, at the commencement of the enſuing ſeſſion, a plan for the reſtoring of public credit. Mr. HAMILTON, at that time the ſecretary of the treaſury, acquitted himſelf of this duty, in January 1790; and the congreſs, adopting the plan laid before them, paſſed a law, on the 4th of Auguſt in the ſame year, whoſe object was the payment of the national debt. This law funded the debt due to foreign nations, as well as to the creditors at home; adding to the debt, not only a long arrear of intereſt, but intereſt upon intereſt. The debt due to foreign nations amounted to eleven millions nine hundred and eight thouſand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars; and the domeſtic debt to forty millions nine hundred and five thouſand

four hundred and eighty-five dollars; making together fifty-two millions eight hundred and thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three dollars. The preſident of the United States was authorized to borrow twelve millions of dollars, on the beſt terms he could obtain, to pay the foreign debt. As to the loan to extinguiſh the domeſtic debt, the arrears of intereſt, and certificates of intereſt due, a paper then in circulation, were received as part of it, and funded at an intereſt of three per cent. The capital of the debt, compriſing the paper money then in circulation, was funded at an intereſt of ſix per cent; with a proviſion that a third of the debt thus funded ſhould not receive intereſt till the expiration of ten years, that is to ſay, till the year 1800, and this part of the debt was for that reaſon funded under the name of the *deferred ſtock*; while two other funds were created, one of three per cent, and one of ſix per cent, to fulfil engagements of the ſtate. The *deferred ſtock* was to be redeemed by the treaſury, in the proportion of eight per cent per annum, which proviſion was regarded as a kind of compenſation for the ſuſpenſion during ten years of the payment of the intereſt. The different funds were redeemable alſo by the congreſs by annuities for twenty-three years, at eight per cent per annum, but which could not in that caſe

caſe be afterwards redeemed by any other fund. The ſame law contained proviſions to make the Union reſponſible for the debts of the different ſtates. It authorized a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thouſand dollars; and permitted to be received, as ſubſcriptions to the loan, certificates of debts of the ſeveral ſtates for military ſervice, or furniſhing of proviſions during the war, limiting the ſums which each ſtate might ſubſcribe in this manner. A third of the debts thus funded bore an intereſt of three per cent; and the remaining two-thirds an intereſt of ſix per cent, but one-half of the ſix per cents was not to receive intereſt till after the year 1800. The ſubſcriptions to this loan were to be made within a certain time; but the period was afterwards extended. The ſame law appointed commiſſioners to reſide in each ſtate, to verify the titles of claimants, to give certificates, pay the intereſt; in a word, to tranſact all buſineſs relative to this loan under the authority of the ſecretary of the treaſury. The holders of certificates of debts due from any of the ſtates, who were unwilling to ſubſcribe to the loan, received an intereſt of three per cent on that paper.

The plan of transferring the reſponſibility for the debts of the ſeveral ſtates to the congreſs was not adopted without long debates. No oppoſi-

tion was made to the funding of the foreign debt, nor even that of the domeſtic debt, but what ſhould be admitted into the latter, and the manner of redeeming it, occaſioned great diſputes. Thoſe who oppoſed the funding of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates argued, that the claims were almoſt obſolete; that neither the intereſt, nor any part of the principal had been paid; that they had fallen to an eighth of their original value; and that in all probability they would continue to fall till they ſhould be extinct. A large portion of theſe debts had been incurred for neceſſaries for the troops during the war, at a nominal price greatly above the value of the articles, owing to the ſcarcity of money in the hands of the congreſs, and the uncertainty of its future power of payment; and another conſiderable portion accrued from paper given to the military for pay. The perſons who originally held both theſe ſpecies of paper had ſold them at a very low rate, ſome being compelled to do ſo by their own neceſſities, and others having loſt all confidence in the paper. The preſent holders were ſpeculators, who had acquired them for little or nothing from thoſe who, by their real ſervices, were perſons truly entitled to the amount of the debts. The oppoſers of the plan therefore argued, that the diſcharge of thoſe debts in the hands of

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the preſent holders of that property, would be an injuſtice to the contractors and ſoldiers, to whom they were in fact due; an inſult to the diſtreſs that compelled them to transfer their claims for very inferior compenſations, and an open protection given to public rapacity and jobbing, whoſe ill effects were uniformly acknowledged.

The propoſition of the opponents of the ſecretary's plan was, that debts verified by the certificates of congreſs ſhould be paid at their original nominal value; but that the holders of ſuch certificates ſhould receive no more than a portion equivalent to the higheſt price they had borne in the market from the time of their purchaſe of them till the acceptance of the preſent conſtitution, and that the ſurplus ſhould be paid to the original creditors of the ſtate.

The partizans of the ſecretary's plan appealed to the declarations of the old congreſs in the creation of the titles to this ſpecies of debt. They had been given for claims of the original poſſeſſors, or perſons whom they had repreſented; the preſent holders had incurred the hazard of a ſtill greater fall in the value of theſe certificates, and even of their annihilation, a danger to which the original poſſeſſors had preferred a loſs by the ſale of them; the market was open, and the cer-

tificates ſold on the principle of other poſſeſſions, and the right of the preſent holders was not to be infringed without a public injuſtice. To theſe reaſonings it was added, that the difficulties and delays that would attend the plan of the other party would render it impracticable.

The two opinions were ſupported with a great deal of moderation; but with pertinacity and plauſibility on both ſides. Thoſe who contended for limiting the payment of the preſent holders of the certificates to the higheſt price they had borne in their poſſeſſion, and to pay the ſurplus to the original poſſeſſors, argued with moſt equity; for it was known that the greateſt bulk of the original poſſeſſors, moſt of whom were ſoldiers, had been driven to ſell their certificates, either by extreme diſtreſs, or by the artifices of jobbers to excite alarms for the validity of thoſe debts; and that the preſent poſſeſſors were ſpeculators, well informed of the intentions of leading men, and the real ſtate of things, and who diſburſed only inconſiderable ſums for thoſe certificates, the loſs of the whole of which would little affect their fortunes; and that the greater part of theſe were foreigners, who had entered into theſe ſpeculations for the purpoſes of plunder. The partizans of the plan that was adopted had reaſons of finance on their ſide, forming a morality by

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no means equitable, but politic, and abſolutely neceſſary to the reſtoration of credit, on which object the congreſs was immediately employed. And it is to be obſerved, that the confidence of the holders of certificates in the government for ſome liberal funding of the debt was ſuch, that this paper had riſen four hundred per cent, ſince the adoption of the new conſtitution.

The reſolution to which the congreſs came on the ſubject ſuddenly created immenſe fortunes. Speculators bought up the paper from one end of the United States to the other. At New York, where the congreſs then held its ſittings, its price roſe and fell daily, as the ſpeakers on one ſide or the other ſeemed to gain the advantage. Many members of both houſes entered into this traffic. Mr. Hamilton, the author of the plan adopted by congreſs, was univerſally acquitted of this diſhonourable conduct, and univerſally received the tribute due to his integrity.

The plan of the ſecretary of the treaſury for the adoption of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates by the Union, was not finally accepted without ſome modifications, nor till after it had been once rejected. The partizans of this plan argued, that the debts contracted by the ſeveral ſtates for their particular defence, was, notwithſtanding, for the common cauſe, and was in reality the

debt of the Union—that the ſeveral ſtates would encounter greater difficulties in raiſing taxes to diſcharge their debts than the Union, the levying of various taxes being prohibited them by the conſtitution; that ſuch taxes as they could levy would only have a partial and inadequate effect, and in one ſtate might be in prejudice to the means employed by other ſtates for the ſame purpoſe, while the Union might employ uniform means throughout the whole ſtates, without claſhing of intereſts, and with a ſaving to the particular ſtates, and with more perfect ſecurity to the public creditors, who would all by that means be placed on an equal footing; that the offices eſtabliſhed by the Union in the ſeveral ſtates for the liquidation of the debt of the congreſs, might be charged with the liquidations of theſe debts, and a great ſaving made in that heavy but neceſſary expence; and laſtly, that this plan would tend to conſolidate the force of the federal government, by allying the creditors of the ſeveral ſtates to the intereſts of the Union.

Their opponents maintained, that theſe debts were neither known in their amount, nor their ſeveral kinds; that, previous to any diſcuſſion on the utility of the plan, the nature and value of theſe debts ſhould be aſcertained, and thoſe contracted for the defence of the ſeveral ſtates diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed from ſuch as were occaſioned by a neglect of levying the taxes, and a report made by the commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe of ſtriking the balances of the ſums reſpectively due from the Union to the ſeveral ſtates, and from the ſtates to the Union; that from theſe balances would reſult the real debts of the ſeveral ſtates, which the Union might afterward, if it were found adviſeable, conſolidate with its own debts, which meaſure would otherwiſe be raſh, and without any knowledge of its extent and its operation; and that to augment the debt of the Union, by adding to it thoſe of the ſeveral ſtates, would depreſs the national credit, augment the paper in circulation, and cheriſh that ſpirit of public gambling, whoſe evil conſequences were already perceived and whoſe dangers were daily increaſing.

The partizans of the plan replied, that the national credit could never be firmly eſtabliſhed without the conſolidation of all the debts of the country; that all delay in the effecting ſuch conſolidation would intercept the benefits expected from the conſolidation of the proper debts of the congreſs, in the diminution of the intereſt of money, and the raiſing the value of the funds; and that returns of the balances between the ſeveral ſtates and the Union might be made with

with the ſame promptneſs and preciſion after ſuch conſolidation as before.

The reaſonings of this party, as I have ſaid, prevailed. The debts of the ſeveral ſtates were calculated at twenty-five millions of dollars, and a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thouſand dollars was authoriſed by the congreſs.

It is to be obſerved, that this financial operation was not effected without a ſecret agreement among the deputies of certain ſtates, relative to the intereſts of their conſtituents. The eaſtern ſtates, compriſing New York, were the principal debtors. Maſſachuſetts alone owed ſix millions of dollars. In 1787, an inſurrection took place in that ſtate, of which the levying of taxes was the cauſe, or at leaſt the pretext; and that ſtate was not willing again to hazard its tranquillity by the levying new taxes, which muſt take place if it had its own debt to diſcharge. Maſſachuſetts was therefore particularly intereſted in the adoption of the plan. The ſouthern ſtates, on the contrary, were all, with the exception of South Carolina, creditors of the Union; but it was a favourite project with them, to draw the ſeat of the federal government nearer to them; and Virginia was more eager in its proſecution than the reſt, becauſe the place deſigned for the future ſeat of the government was on its territories, and

Virginia

Virginia was the principal public creditor. On the other hand, the eaſtern ſtates had an intereſt in preſerving the ſeat of the government at New York; but this was not ſufficient to weigh with the intereſt they had in the conſolidation of the debts of the ſtate. Their deputies, therefore, made a compromiſe with thoſe of the ſouthern ſtates, agreeing to vote for the ſeat of the federal government being placed on the Potowmack, on condition of the others voting for the conſolidation of the debts. The ſtate of Pennſylvania, although among the debtors, was not embarraſſed with its debt, having ſufficient means of its extinction; but a promiſe was made to its deputies, that the provincial ſeat of the government ſhould be at Philadelphia for ten years, and they were not without hopes of preſerving it for a longer term, and therefore acceded to the ſecret treaty. Thus the plan of conſolidation paſſed.

It was provided, at the ſame time, that the ſums that appeared to be owing by the ſeveral ſtates ſhould be taken as ſuch by the Union, without previous examination, and ſhould be placed to the credit of ſuch ſtates in their accounts with the Union; and that the balance which ſhould appear, by the final accounts of the commiſſioners, due to any of the ſtates, ſhould be funded in their favour by the Union, which was to remain

main creditor of ſuch ſtates as by the final account appeared to be debtors.

The return of the commiſſioners, as we have already ſeen, makes the balances due to certain ſtates, namely, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New Jerſey, South Carolina, and Georgia, amount to three millions five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; and thoſe due from the other ſtates, namely, New York, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the ſame ſum.

Mr. GALLATIN, in a work of great reputation on the finances of the United States, which he publiſhed in 1796, ſpeaks in the following manner of this meaſure. "The ſtates, whoſe debts amounted to the greateſt ſums, were, by the operation of this plan, found to be the moſt conſiderable creditors of the Union. And experience has ſhewn, that this great addition of debt with which the Union has charged itſelf, far from giving ſtrength to the federal government, has occaſioned more diſcontents than any other meaſure; not only by the impoſition of new taxes to pay the debts, but ſtill more by an apprehenſion, that perſons in power will ſeek rather to augment and perpetuate the debt of the Union than to extinguiſh or diminiſh it; and from a general

neral belief, that the ſpeculations and intereſts of individuals had more influence in the adoption of the plan than any other conſideration. And although it may ſeem indifferent, whether the ſums neceſſary to diſcharge theſe debts be levied on the people by the federal government or by the ſeveral ſtates, yet the difficulty the federal government finds in augmenting its revenues by the exciſe, licenſes, &c.—the rapid progreſs which individual ſtates have made for the extinction of their reſpective debts, and the ſituation of the ſtates whoſe debts were not adopted by the Union, becauſe they were on the final account its debtors, are ſufficient proofs, that a great part of the additional debt which now reſts on the Union would at this day have been extinguiſhed by the reſources of the ſeveral ſtates, if it had not been conſolidated with that of the Union."

This writer adds—" That, had the conſolidation of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates with thoſe of the Union been poſtponed till the final ſettlement of accounts by the commiſſioners, the debt of the federal government would have amounted to no more than eleven millions ſix hundred and nine thouſand two hundred and fifty-nine dollars, inſtead of twenty-two millions four hundred and ninety-two thouſand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars, which were acknowledged and

and funded by the Union; and that therefore the congreſs, by its precipitation, created an unneceſſary debt of ten millions eight hundred and eighty-three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix dollars."

The law that conſolidates theſe different ſpecies of debts, pledges the public faith for the eſtabliſhment of funds for the payment of intereſts granted on loans; and it ſets apart lands belonging to the Union, in the territories of the weſt, to be ſold, to create a ſinking fund for the extinction of the national debt.

A ſum of a hundred and ninety-eight thouſand dollars was due to foreign officers, who ſerved in the American army during the war; and it was deſtined to be paid out of the loans made in Europe, and has been faithfully diſcharged as far as claims have been made, which have amounted to a hundred and twenty-three thouſand dollars.

Since the year 1790, the congreſs has erected an office for the reduction of the national debt, compoſed of the preſident of the ſenate, the chief-juſtice, the ſecretary of ſtate, the ſecretary of the treaſury, and the attorney-general of the Union. It authoriſed four different loans for the reduction of the debt, by the redemption of ſeveral funds; and, in 1796, authoriſed the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund further to borrow five millions

millions of dollars, to pay certain ſums and their intereſts, which the government were engaged to diſcharge that year. The bank of the United States was authoriſed, by the ſame law, to furniſh this loan, or ſubſcribe to it in part. The funds already in exiſtence were received as ſubſcriptions to the loan; the commiſſioners had a power to ſell at their diſcretion, the ſeveral ſorts of funds (three per cents, ſix per cents, or *deferred ſtock*) which they had in their hands, to diſcharge the whole, or part of the ſums and intereſts that the loan was meant to extinguiſh, provided that they did not ſell more than one half of ſuch funds at a price below par; they were alſo authoriſed to ſell the ſhares of the bank which belonged to the Union. The new debt thus created by this loan, the receipts for which bore an intereſt of ſix per cent, was not to be redeemed till the commencement of the year 1819.

The congreſs had incorporated the bank of the United States; and that bank had afterwards advanced to the Union two millions of dollars, to which amount the Union had ſubſcribed in the formation of its capital, and theſe two millions were to be repaid in ten years, by equal payments. The congreſs afterwards authoriſed that bank to advance the Union three millions more; and again, five millions, in 1796, as I have before

fore obſerved; and declared the revenues of the ſtate to be ſubject to the payment of the intereſt of theſe loans, in the ſame manner as to the other expences of the government; and deſtined all ſurplus of the revenues to be a fund for the repayment of ſuch loans.

The debt of the United States, in 1790, amounted to ſeventy-two millions ſix hundred and thirteen thouſand two hundred and fifty-four dollars; and in 1796, to ſeventy-eight millions ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand four hundred and ten dollars. It has therefore increaſed by the ſum of ſix millions eighty-four thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſix dollars, although the office for the reduction of the national debt had extinguiſhed two millions three hundred and ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one dollars, and although the United States have in that period enjoyed a profound peace, and have been favoured with circumſtances which uſually enable a ſtate to reſtore order in its finances.

A greater economy in the public expenditure, the ſale of immenſe quantities of lands belonging to the Union in the territories of the weſt which is practicable, and a prudent increaſe of impoſts, are means that a wiſe adminiſtration would employ with effect to the ſpeedy extinction of the national

national debt if war or ſome great internal convulſion did not arreſt their progreſs. The national debt, according to engagements made with the public creditors, and plans preſented to the congreſs and adopted by it, is to be entirely extinguiſhed in 1823.

The office for the reduction of the public debt had, in its creation, like all ſuch meaſures, the object of raiſing the public credit, by a proſpect of the extinction of the debt. It was deſigned to be ſtrengthened by the eſtabliſhment of the bank of the United States, which made part of the general ſyſtem of finance propoſed by the ſecretary of the treaſury. This bank was incorporated in 1791, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, two millions of which were ſubſcribed by the United States, who were not, however, compelled to make good the ſubſcription at the period impoſed on the other ſubſcribers. The remaining eight millions were furniſhed by the ſubſcription of individuals; one-fourth part of which was payable in ſpecie, and the other in certificates of debt. The commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt employed a million of dollars in the extinction of this paper. Thus certificates of debt amounting to ſeven millions of dollars diſappeared in the firſt year.

The price of the remainder was naturally increaſed; but the artifices of ſpeculators carried them to a price which they could not long maintain.

The following are the principal articles in the conſtitution of the bank of the United States.

1ſt. The incorporation of the ſubſcribers, with certain privileges, till the year 1811.

2d. The power of extending their capital to ten millions of dollars.

3d. The power of holding poſſeſſions to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars, in perſonal or real eſtates, including their original capital.

4th. Of eſtabliſhing, within the United States, ſuch aſſiſtant banks as the directors ſhall judge expedient.

5th. The formation of an adminiſtration for the bank, conſiſting of a preſident, twenty-five directors, and a caſhier.

6th. A prohibition to carry on any buſineſs but that properly belonging to the bank, to purchaſe any part of the national debt, to take more than ſix per cent for their loans and diſcounts—but with the privilege of ſelling the original ſhares of the bank.

7th. A prohibition to contract, by loans, diſcounts, or the emiſſion of paper, a debt more than

than double the ſum exiſting in the coffers of the bank.

8th. A prohibition to lend, without an expreſs law of the United States, more than a hundred thouſand dollars to the federal government, or more than fifty thouſand to any one of the ſtates, or to any foreign prince or power.

9th. An obligation to lay before the ſecretary of the treaſury a ſtatement of the actual ſituation of the bank, whenever he ſhould demand ſuch ſtatement, with a power given to that officer to check ſuch accounts with the books of the bank.

10th. A proviſion to make the notes of the bank legal payment, in all the offices of the United States.

11th. The pledge of the public faith, to eſtabliſh no other bank in the United States, during the term of the charter granted to this bank.

Without entering into an examination of the nature of the ſecurity of ſhares in a bank, whoſe original capital ſhould be formed like that of the bank of the United States, and which, placed immediately under the influence of government, might, in times of neceſſity, be compelled, by a law of congreſs, to furniſh the loans that circumſtances rendered neceſſary, I ſhall only ob-

ſerve the danger to which it expoſes the finances of the Union, by the facility of the government to obtain large loans by a law of congreſs, and by the power veſted in the bank of lending a hundred thouſand dollars to the government, even without any new ſanction of the congreſs. The preſent ſtate of the national debt is attributed to this circumſtance; without which, it is probable, the loans would not have been ſo multiplied, and a greater economy would have been practiſed in the expenditure of the government. The congreſs, perceiving the public expenditure exceed the public revenues, would have endeavoured to balance them by taxes which they only poſtponed, and which at preſent they are obliged to levy in a degree that would not have been neceſſary had they been earlier convinced of the evils of loans —taxes which, however heavy, cannot even at preſent ſuperſede the neceſſity of new loans for the redemption of former ones provided to be redeemed at fixed periods; as, for example, thoſe of the bank, and thoſe for which the government was obliged to grant an enormous intereſt.

It is not certainly without great heſitation that I hazard my opinion in matters of finance, reſpecting which my information is by no means extenſive: and the more ſo, as that opinion is in oppoſition

oppoſition to many perſons who are eſteemed able financiers. I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to the obſerving, that, although I am perſuaded of the real and important utility of banks, when their affairs are adminiſtered with prudence and equity, in aiding the efforts of commerce, induſtry, and agriculture, and adding by the credit to the wealth of a ſtate, and conſequently to its cauſes of proſperity; and although I even acknowledge that theſe advantages have been derived from banks by the United States, yet the miſchiefs of the ſyſtem on which banks are conducted appear to me greatly to exceed their benefits. The facility with which abuſes creep into theſe eſtabliſhments is ſo great, and theſe abuſes are ſo powerfully protected and encouraged, both by the neceſſities of governments and the rapacity of individuals, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt upright of the perſons concerned in their management to exclude ſuch abuſes. Their evils are the greater in a country where banks are numerous, ſpecie ſcarce, and the deſire of accumulation the common deſire of the inhabitants. Inſtead of creating a currency double the amount of their real capital, banks create one ten times, and even twenty times greater; and the illuſion which ſucceeds the firſt moments of commercial

proſperity, that in a time of peace ſprings from the facility of extending individual capitals, is nothing more than a means of augmenting and precipitating the real calamities which muſt follow. The ruin of individuals, and even that of ſtates, muſt ſooner or later be the conſequence; inaſmuch as economy, and ſedate views of the nature of enterpriſes, are no longer things that can be attended to. The preſent ſyſtem of banking is upheld by an opinion, that a ſtate, far from being impoveriſhed by its debts, has in that medium a new cauſe of proſperity, reſulting from a new activity given to circulation, and an opportunity given to individuals to turn to profit the gradual ſavings of the ſmalleſt revenues. This theory is no better, I think, than an abuſe of ingenuity, employed in the aid of a deſperate ſtate of finance. It tends to augment, without bounds, that maſs of debt ſo ſingularly metamorphoſed, in the eyes of the vulgar, to the neceſſary aliment of public credit and proſperity. The moſt ordinary underſtanding is ſufficient to diſcover, that there muſt at leaſt be a point beyond which the debts of a ſtate ought not to extend;—and, where is the government who will thus confine itſelf when it can, almoſt ſecretly, and altogether without the murmurs of the people,

people, increaſe the means of its expenditure? Where is the government that, intoxicated with this ſyſtem of indefinitely increaſing its debt, is not daily haſtening the nation it directs to inevitable ruin? The period of reckoning muſt at laſt arrive, when the people will not and cannot pay taxes which are neither employed in the defence nor any other ſervice of the nation, but are raiſed merely to pay intereſts of loans, which economy in the finances would have rendered unneceſſary; and when things have attained this criſis, the epoch is arrived which is the moſt dangerous to the tranquillity of the nation, the ſtability of its government, and the happineſs of individuals.

The bank of the United States, being by its charter empowered to eſtabliſh aſſiſtant banks in ſuch parts of the United States as it ſhould deem expedient, has already eſtabliſhed four—one at New York, one at Boſton, one at Baltimore, and one at Charleſton; but the capitals of theſe banks, known in America by the name of *branch-banks*, are not excluſive of its capital of ten millions of dollars. The following is a ſtatement of the affairs of the bank of the United States, on the 31ſt December 1796.

Debtor.	Dollars.	*Creditor.*	Dollars.
Capital -	10,000,000	In the ſix per cents -	3,624,331⅓
Dutch loan	750,000	Diſcounted bills	2,080,641
Sums belonging to the government of the United States* -	431,242	Due from the government of the United States	4,000,000
Sums belonging to individuals	873,238	Specie -	521,415
Bank notes in circulation -	795,901		
Poſt notes† -	607,600		
Balance of 1796	232,873		
Intereſt on loans made to the government	210,677		
Profits reſerved in hand, after payment of the dividends -	132,848		

The capitals of the ſeveral *branch-banks*, furniſhed by the bank of the United States, are as follow:

	Dollars.		Dollars.
New York -	1,200,000	Baltimore -	400,000
Boſton - -	700,000	Charleſton -	500,000

The particular accounts of the *branch-banks* make part of the general account of the bank of the United States. This bank erected a new building in 1797, in which it has tranſacted buſineſs ſince the 1ſt of July of the ſame year: the ground on which it ſtands coſt fourteen thou-

* Government keeps its caſh in the bank of the United States.

† Bills drawn on the *branch-banks*.

ſand

ſand dollars; and the coſt of the building will exceed a hundred thouſand. The dividends of this bank are eight per cent; and its ſhares bear a premium from fifteen to eighteen per cent. The following is a ſtatement of the preſent price of the public funds.

Three per cents	-	50
Six per cents	-	82
Deferred ſtock	-	65

The public engagements are diſcharged in the United States with the greateſt punctuality; and the loan granted by France was repaid before the period of its being due, at the deſire of the French government.

The preſent revenues of the United States conſiſt of the following articles:—1ſt, Duties on tonnage, and on the importation of foreign articles. 2d. Duties on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the United States; on the manufacture of tobacco; on refining of ſugar; on public ſales; on the retailing of wine, and foreign ſpirituous liquors; and on carriages. 3d. A profit on the poſtage of letters. And 4th, Dividends of ſhares belonging to the government in the bank of the United States.

The duties on tonnage are about three pence halfpenny per ton on American veſſels, and half a dollar per ton on foreign veſſels.

The

The following is a table of the tonnage employed in the different ports of the United States, during the laſt ſeven years.

American Tonnage.		*Foreign Tonnage.*	
In 1790,	Tons.		Tons.
Coaſting veſſels	113,181	Engliſh - -	228,631
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	26,522	French - -	13,435
		Dutch - -	8,815
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	362,823	Spaniſh - -	8,551
		Daniſh, Pruſſian, Hamburg, &c.	5,131
	502,526		264,563

Total of American and foreign tonnage for the year, 767,089.

In 1791,			
Coaſting veſſels	106,494	Engliſh - -	210,618
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	32,542	French - -	8,988
		Other nations	18,860
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	363,854		238,466
	502,890		

Total for the year, 741,356.

In 1792,			
Coaſting veſſels	120,997	Engliſh - -	206,065
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	32,062	French - -	24,343
		Other nations	13,870
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	414,629		244,278
	567,688		

Total for the year, 811,966.

In 1793,			
Coaſting veſſels	141,639	Engliſh - -	100,180
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	38,177	French - -	45,287
		Other nations -	17,759
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	438,864		163,226
	618,680		

Total for the year, 781,906.

American

American Tonnage.		*Foreign Tonnage.*	
In 1794,	Tons.		Tons.
Coaſting veſſels	192,686	Engliſh - -	37,053
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	27,260	French - -	11,249
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	527,194	Other nations	34,667
	747,140		82,974
Total for the year, 830,114.			
In 1795,			
Coaſting veſſels	171,918		
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	34,102	Engliſh, French, Other nations	I could not procure an exact ſtatement of the amount of each.
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	580,277		
	786,297		62,000
Total for the year, 848,297.			
In 1796,			
Coaſting veſſels	200,372	Engliſh - -	19,669
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries	38,920	French - -	2,055
Veſſels employed in foreign trade	675,046	Daniſh - -	10,430
		Swediſh - -	5,560
		Anſeatic Cities	4,987
		Ports of Italy -	758
	913,338	Spain - -	2,449
		Portugueſe - -	637
		Dutch - -	301
			47,846
Total for the year, 962,184.			

The quantity of tonnage in the preceding table is, with reſpect to American veſſels, the quantity that ſailed from the ſeveral ports; and, with reſpect to foreign veſſels, that which entered the ſeveral ports; therefore, as moſt of the veſſels would return, we may take the total quantity of tonnage

tonnage at nearly double the quantity named in the table.

The duties on foreign articles imported into the United States vary according to the nature of the articles, from five to fifty-five per cent. Some are paid in proportion to the computed value of the articles; and others by the quantity. Foreign articles, imported in foreign veſſels, are ſubject, ſince the month of July 1792, to ten per cent more than when imported in American veſſels. The amount of theſe duties is always added to the duty on tonnage in the returns made by the ſecretary of the treaſury. The amount of theſe conſolidated duties, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1789, to the end of 1791, was ſix millions three hundred and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three dollars. In 1792, they yielded four millions ſeven hundred and thirty-one thouſand and thirty-two dollars. In 1793, ſix millions one hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four dollars. In 1794, ſix millions ſeven hundred and twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars. In 1795, ſeven millions nine hundred and fifty-nine thouſand four hundred and nine dollars; and in 1796, ſix millions five hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven dollars.

Theſe ſums are the net amount of theſe duties after

after the following deductions—firſt, drawbacks on foreign goods re-exported of the whole duty, except one per cent. Second, drawbacks on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled, ſugars refined, and tobacco manufactured in the ſtates, when theſe articles are exported to foreign countries. Third, bounties given to the fiſheries, which vary from a dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per ton, according to the ſize of the veſſel employed in them. There is alſo a bounty on every barrel of fiſh ſalted or ſmoked, of about four pence halfpenny. Fourth, the expence of collection of the duties, which amounts to about five per cent.

Fines for ſmuggling foreign articles into the ſtates, or attempts to defraud the revenue, are alſo thrown into the maſs of theſe receipts. But ſmuggling is far from conſiderable in the United States, the duties in general being moderate. It is however to be obſerved, that the produce of the duties on tea is decreaſed nearly half within the two laſt years, although the uſe of tea is far from being diminiſhed. The ſmuggling of this article, for it muſt be acknowledged to be ſuch, is attributed to the increaſe of the tax, which is from eighteen to thirty per cent for teas coming from China, and higher ſtill for thoſe imported from Europe; and alſo to the facility of ſecretly landing that article.

There

There are a few ſmall veſſels belonging to the United States whoſe employment it is to prevent veſſels, coming from foreign countries, unloading in places where there is no cuſtom-houſe.

The various expences of the revenue are paid by the collectors of each diſtrict, and deducted from the general account of their receipts.

The duties on ſome articles of importation were augmented in the laſt ſeſſion, which ended in the month of March 1797. The duties on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the United States, were firſt impoſed in 1794. At that time they were ſix pence halfpenny per gallon on ſpirituous liquors made from molaſſes, and five pence per gallon on thoſe made from fruit or grain, the production of the country. In 1794 they were reduced to ſix pence per gallon on the former, and four pence on the latter; but this reduction was only on liquors of inferior quality, the duties on thoſe of the firſt quality being raiſed to fifteen pence per gallon when made from molaſſes, and ten pence halfpenny when made from productions of the country. This tax, eſpecially that part of it impoſed on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from home produce, has always been very unpopular. The law gave the option to the diſtiller to pay either the preciſe duty for each gallon, or a compoſition of two ſhillings and eight pence per annum for every

every gallon the ſtills employed could contain. The diſtillers generally preferred the firſt mode, becauſe they were uncertain of occupying their ſtills the whole year, and becauſe there was greater opportunity to elude the payment of the duties in that mode, the diſtilleries being ſcattered at great diſtances throughout the ſtates, and not very vigilantly watched by the officers of the exciſe. The public opinion being averſe to this tax, it never was univerſally collected. Many parts of ſome of the ſtates, and even entire ſtates, have refuſed to this day to ſubmit to this tax. Congreſs therefore, in the laſt ſeſſion, thought proper to deprive the diſtiller of the option the law formerly gave him as to the mode of paying the tax, and enjoined every diſtiller to pay a compoſition in proportion to the ſize of his ſtills. The diſtiller is, however, permitted to make the compoſition only for two weeks, or for any term between that and ſix months; the compoſition for two weeks is three pence halfpenny per gallon, for ſix months two ſhillings and one penny halfpenny per gallon, and the compoſitions between theſe two terms are in the ſame proportion, giving the advantage to thoſe who ſubſcribe for the longer term. By this regulation the number of exciſemen is diminiſhed, the receipt is more productive, and the inquiſition attached to

that

that ſpecies of tax is narrowed as much as poſſible. The tax is, notwithſtanding, a burthen on the agriculture and induſtry of the country, and upon a branch of its induſtry calculated to diminiſh the employment of foreign induſtry and the conſumption of foreign produce.

The diſtilleries that make ſpirituous liquors from molaſſes being chiefly in ſea ports, and but few in number, it is not eaſy to elude the duty. Mr. GALLATIN, in his examination of the receipts and expences of collection of the various taxes of the United States, calculates the expence of collection on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from the produce of the country to amount to nearly thirty-four per cent, while thoſe on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from molaſſes, known in America by the name of continental rum, amount only to fourteen and a half per cent.

The quantity of molaſſes imported into the United States for diſtillation amounted, in the years 1790 and 1791, on an average of the two years, to ſix millions ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons per annum. In 1796, it amounted only to three millions ſix hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſix gallons.

The joint net produce of the duties on theſe two ſorts of ſpirituous liquors in the laſt ſix months of 1791, was one hundred and ſixty-four

four thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven dollars; in 1792, four hundred and forty-ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty-three dollars; in 1793, five hundred and thirty-nine thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-five dollars; in 1794, three hundred fifty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty-five dollars; in 1795, one hundred and ninety-nine thouſand dollars; and 1796, two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand dollars.

It is neceſſary to obſerve here, that the importation of foreign ſpirituous liquors conſiderably encreaſed from the year 1790 to the year 1795. In 1790, it amounted to three millions ſix hundred ſeventy-eight thouſand one hundred and ninety-nine gallons; and in 1794, to five millions ſix hundred and ninety nine thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine gallons.

The importation of wine, excluſive of Madeira, in 1790, amounted to ſix hundred ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one gallons; and in 1795, to four millions three hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand and ſeventy-ſix gallons. The importation of ale and porter in 1790, amounted to ſeventy thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four gallons; and in 1794, to three hundred and thirty-one thouſand three hundred and fifty-eight gallons.

The great increaſe in theſe importations is in

part to be aſcribed to the preſent war, which has increaſed the commerce of the United States; but if we conſider that a ſmall portion of theſe articles is re-exported from America, part of the encreaſe will be aſcribed to other cauſes—one of which is, a great decreaſe in the importation of molaſſes; the quantity imported in 1795 being no more than half the importation of that article in 1790, and the ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from molaſſes in the United States was reduced from two millions to one million of gallons, between the year 1790 and the year 1795—another cauſe is the riſe in the price of grain, which has been ſo great, that the diſtilleries that uſe that article have been ſcarcely able to maintain their ground. The following table will put this matter out of queſtion.

Duties paid for the Importation of Wines, ſpirituous Liquors, and malt Liquors, into the United States, during the Years 1793, 1794, *and* 1795; *and the Drawbacks for the Re-exportation of the ſame Articles, during the ſame Period.*

Years—	1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties.	Drawba.	Duties.	Drawba.	Duties.	Drawba.
Madeira wines	121,752	4,692	166,623	14,258	196,842	5,952
Other wines	243,910	4,235	233,460	4,012	464,893	11,433
Spirituous liquors	1,034,5[illegible]	31,32[illegible]	1,618,364	38,117	1,492,492	59,181
Ale, porter, &c.	22,372		25,961	165	29,375	288

The drawbacks for the exportation of ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the ſtates, are a halfpenny per gallon for thoſe made from the produce of the

the country; and two pence per gallon for thoſe made from molaſſes, which difference is a compenſation for the duties paid on the importation of molaſſes into the ſtates.

The law that impoſes theſe taxes was paſſed in March 1791; and their produce is appropriated to the payment of the intereſts and capital of loans made and to be made for the extinction of the national debt; and it is provided, that theſe taxes ſhall be continued to be levied till that event takes place.

The duties on the importation of molaſſes was increaſed one halfpenny per gallon in the ſeſſion before laſt; and the drawback for the exportation of continental rum increaſed in the ſame proportion.

The mode of collecting the duties on manufactured tobacco has undergone ſeveral alterations ſince its eſtabliſhment, which was in 1794. At firſt the duty was laid on the article at the rate of four pence halfpenny per pound, but the ſmallneſs of the receipts being attributed to frauds from the difficulty of knowing the quantity manufactured, the congreſs laid the tax on the mills, it being varied from one hundred and forty to two hundred and forty dollars, according to the ſize and kind of mill; and the produce of this tax amounts now to more than three times the

former receipts. The drawback, however, of three pence halfpeny per pound on the exportation of that article having exceeded the produce of the tax, it was plain there was immenſe fraud in theſe exports; and the legiſlature entirely ſuſpended that tax for one year, in the ſeſſion of 1796. In the laſt ſeſſion but one they re-eſtabliſhed the tax; but its produce, which ſhould it even continue to exiſt, will never be conſiderable, cannot at preſent be placed on the ſide of the receipts of the revenue.

The law which laid a duty on the refining of ſugars in the United States, paſſed in the beginning of 1794; but the duty did not take place till the 1ſt of October in the ſame year. It is one penny per pound on the ſugar, when it is refined; and a drawback is allowed of two pence halfpenny per pound when it is exported, the additional one penny halfpenny being the amount of the duty impoſed on raw ſugars. The ſame law, with a view to encourage this branch of American commerce, impoſes a duty of two pence per pound on foreign refined ſugars imported into the ſtates, and no drawback is allowed on the re-exportation of ſuch ſugars. An addition of a farthing per pound has been lately laid on the importation of raw ſugars, and an additional halfpenny per pound allowed for the exportation

exportation of raw ſugars refined in the ſtates. In 1795, this duty produced thirty-one thouſand nine hundred and fifteen dollars; and in 1796, thirty-eight thouſand dollars—the expences of collections which amount to five per cent, being deducted.

The law impoſing a duty on public ſales alſo paſſed in 1794. This duty varies from a quarter of a dollar to half a dollar on effects ſold to the amount of a hundred dollars; in 1795 it produced thirty thouſand four hundred and fifteen dollars; in 1796, thirty-three thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five dollars—the expences of collection, which amount to two and a half per cent, being deducted. Notwithſtanding the proviſions made by the law for the payment of this duty, the integrity of the auctioneers, who are obliged to take out a licence, is its only guarantee.

The tax on retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors was alſo impoſed by a law of 1794; it is five dollars per annum for every retailer of wine in leſs quantities than thirty gallons, and of ſpirituous liquors in leſs quantities than twenty gallons. Public houſes are exempt from this tax. In 1795 it produced fifty-three thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven dollars; and in 1796, more than fifty-eight thouſand dollars—inde-

pendent of the expences of collection, which are two and a half per cent.

The duty on carriages was alſo firſt impoſed in the ſame year; it is from two to fifteen dollars per annum on each carriage, according to its kind; in 1795 it produced forty-one thouſand four hundred and twenty-one dollars; and in 1796, fifty-three thouſand two hundred dollars. The expences of collection amount to five per cent.

In 1796 a cauſe was determined in the ſupreme court of the United States, on a queſtion ariſing out of this tax. The conſtitution ſays—*that no capitation tax, nor direct tax, ſhall be impoſed by congreſs, except ſuch as may be impoſed on the different ſtates in proportion to their federal number.* A perſon reſiding in Maryland refuſed to pay the tax on carriages, on the ground that it was *a direct tax,* becauſe it was levied directly on the article in the poſſeſſion of the conſumer; whereas to be indirect, it ought to be laid on the perſons dealing in that article. The counſel for the perſon appealing from the tax were Mr. INGOLSON, attorney-general of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and Mr. CAMPBELL, a barriſter of Virginia; and the counſel for the government were, Mr. HAMILTON, and Mr. LEE, attorney-general of the United States The latter gentlemen maintained,

tained, that the tax was indirect, inaſmuch as it was levied upon an article of the appellant's expenditure, and not on his revenue.

The term *direct*, uſed as it is in the paſſage of the conſtitution above cited, is ſo vague, and the writers on this ſubject have given the term ſuch oppoſite interpretations, that the arguments on both ſides were allowed to be of equal force. The ſupreme court, being empowered by the conſtitution to determine upon principles of equity as well as law, in all caſes reſulting from different conſtructions of the conſtitution or the laws, gave judgment in favour of the tax, declaring the tax on carriages to be an indirect tax; and it was certainly reaſonable, in the great doubt the judges muſt feel on this nice queſtion, they ſhould be determined by the neceſſity of making this branch of the revenue productive, eſpecially as the tax affects only an article of luxury.

The five laſt of theſe taxes were impoſed by laws that paſſed nearly at the ſame period, and are to ceaſe in Auguſt 1801.

It is ſaid that the taxes on public ſales, and on retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors, would be diſplaced with advantage to the country by a ſmall increaſe of the duties on importation, and on wine, and on the diſtilleries. It is maintained

that the receipt would be greater, would be without additional coſt, would be leſs vexatious, and would, notwithſtanding, affect the perſons who pay the two taxes objected to.

Theſe five taxes are known by the name of *the five new taxes*, and are placed under the ſame heads in the returns of the ſecretary of the treaſury.

The poſt office is in the hands of the government, and its profits form a branch of the revenue. It was in 1794 the laſt law was paſſed relative to the adminiſtration of this department. From the 1ſt of October 1789, to the 30th of June 1791, the revenue produced by the poſt office amounted to four thouſand one hundred and eighty-two dollars, from the 1ſt of July 1791, to the 31ſt of December 1792, to ſixteen thouſand four hundred and one dollars; for the whole of the year 1793, to twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-two dollars for 1794, to thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight dollars; for 1795, to thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five dollars; and for 1796, to ſeventy-two thouſand nine hundred and nine dollars. This branch of the revenue is ſtill increaſing; but the government, prudently extending the benefits of the poſt to places at preſent very little inhabited, the receipt in ſuch places does

does not even pay the expences of conveying the letters to and from them.

Letters are carried here, as in England, in coaches or diligences, which are at the ſame time public carriages; ſo that the government pays leſs for the conveyance of the letters. In roads where ſtage-coaches are not eſtabliſhed, the letters are conveyed on horſeback.

The price of letters is three pence halfpenny for a diſtance of thirty miles, and one and three pence for a diſtance of four hundred and fifty miles. Double letters, and covers encloſing more than one letter, pay at the ſame rate for every letter. Packets weighing one ounce pay the price of four letters. Letters coming from abroad, and put into the poſt office at the port where the veſſel lands, pay two pence over and above the poſtage, if ſent to any other part of the United States.

The number of ſhares of the bank of the United States belonging to the federal government was five thouſand, whoſe dividends produced a hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars half yearly. Two thouſand two hundred and forty were ſold during the laſt ſix months of 1796, towards the diſcharge of loans, whoſe period of repayment was arrived. The return of the ſecretary of the treaſury makes the amount of the dividends

dividends for the laſt half year of 1796, forty-five thouſand dollars.

Patents granted by the government for new inventions, and privileges to authors for an excluſive right on their works, alſo produce a revenue to the United States, but the amount has never exceeded ſixteen hundred dollars, and in 1796 was no more than twelve hundred and ſixty.

The return of the ſecretary of the treaſury alſo contains the receipts, from the mint, of the coin of the United States; but the expences of that eſtabliſhment are placed on the other ſide, and greatly exceed the receipts.

The produce of all the duties, of which I have given the detail, amounted, in 1796, to ſeven millions one hundred and eighty-eight thouſand and one dollars. The following is a ſtatement of their reſpective produce:

	Dollars.
Tonnage and imports -	6,567,987
Diſtilleries - -	238,000
Refining of ſugars - -	38,000
Public ſales - -	33,045
Retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors	58,000
Carriages - -	53,800
Carried over	6,988,832

	Dollars.
Brought forward	6,988,832
Poſt office - - -	72,909
Dividends on the ſhares of the bank	125,000
Patents - - - -	1,260
	7,188,001*

Although it is probable that, at the concluſion of the preſent war, the importation of the produce of the Weſt India iſlands, deſtined for re-exportation, will be reduced, and conſequently the duties on tonnage diminiſhed, it is nevertheleſs to be expected that the total amount of the revenue will not be leſs, but that the encreaſe of population will add to the importation a quantity at leaſt equal to what it will loſe by other circumſtances. But in the ſtatement already made of the ſituation of the finances of the United States, it appears that the revenues fall ſhort of the expenditure, and that according to the loweſt eſtimation, it will require an annual augmentation of the revenues to balance the expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars—that

* The ſum of 7,188,001 dollars is the actual receipt of the year 1796; but the ſecretary of the treaſury and the committee of finances in the houſe of repreſentatives, compute the annual revenue at no more than 6,200,600 dollars.

it

States, nothing is more evident than the propriety of adopting a mode of taxation which reſts upon ſolid foundations, whoſe produce is capable of being extended according to the demands of the ſtate, and is independent of the fluctuations to which merchandize is ſubject; and no tax poſſeſſes theſe qualities in the ſame degree as a tax on land. The ſeſſion, however, paſſed away without any thing being done in this important ſubject.

To judge of the obſtacles to which ſuch a ſcheme would be ſubject, it is neceſſary to take a view of the direct taxes which at preſent exiſt in America. The ſecretary of the treaſury, in a report made to the houſe of repreſentatives, at the cloſe of the year 1796, on the practicability of raiſing a direct tax throughout the extent of the United States, gives the following ſtatement of the different modes of levying taxes in uſe in the ſeveral ſtates:

"1ſt. A uniform capitation tax, or a direct tax on perſons, without diſcrimination of their property, profeſſion, or employment, is impoſed in the ſtates of Vermont, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Georgia.

"The amount of theſe taxes in Vermont and Georgia is not known. In the five other ſtates

if

is to ſay, if even the preſent duties do not fall off in their produce, and a war with an European power might reduce them almoſt to nothing. New ſources of revenue muſt therefore be explored, as well as rigid economy practiſed; and no doubt the aid of the latter would be conſiderable, if it was the reſult of an enlightened and comprehenſive ſyſtem.

The congreſs, in the ſeſſion which ended in the month of March laſt, laid new duties, as I have before obſerved, on the importation of raw ſugars, bohea teas, molaſſes, cottons, ſugar-candy, and cocoa, with an addition of ten per cent on all theſe articles when imported in foreign veſſels. It does not appear that theſe new duties are calculated to produce more than one hundred and thirty thouſand dollars, and they may be expected to fall ſhort of that ſum; for it is well known that the increaſe of this ſort of taxes at once diminiſhes conſumption, and gives encouragement to ſmuggling. A duty on ſtamps, which was calculated to produce two hundred thouſand dollars, was impoſed in the laſt ſeſſion, and a loan of eight hundred thouſand dollars authorized.

In the ſeſſion before the laſt, warm debates aroſe on a propoſition for laying a direct tax upon lands. Independent of the neceſſity there is at preſent of augmenting the revenues of the United States,

of culture. In Kentucky they are divided into three claſſes, according to their quality, but each claſs is taxed uniformly. In South Carolina and Georgia the land is taxed uniformly by diſtricts, cultivated or otherwiſe. In Virginia it is taxed according to a permanent computation. In Maryland and New Jerſey the relative value of the lands in the different counties and diſtricts is determined by the law; and in theſe diſtricts the land is taxed according to its value, never exceeding a certain rate. In Pennſylvania the land is taxed according to a valuation made every three years. In Connecticut all the lands, with the exception of ſome in two of the counties, are taxed according to the nature of their culture, or the kind of ſtate they are in, and that uniformly, without regard to their reſpective value. In Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire land is taxed according to its produce, or the annual rent or profit it is ſuppoſed to bring. In the ſtate of Vermont lands incloſed and cultivated, with ſome exceptions, are taxed uniformly, without regard to their value or produce.

"5th. Capitals employed in commerce or manufacture are taxed in different ſtates according to the principles of each ſtate, but in ſome ſtates they are not taxed.

"6th. Taxes at the diſcretion of the aſſeſſors on

it is from two-ninths to four-ninths of the total produce of the taxes of thoſe ſtates.

" In none of the other ſtates is this ſpecies of tax in uſe; for the taxes on profeſſions, on certain claſſes of people, and on ſlaves, cannot be deemed of that kind.

" 2d. In the ſtates of Vermont, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Kentucky, horſes and cattle are taxed, but with variations and exceptions. In Virginia horſes only are taxed. In the ſtates of Rhode Iſland, New York, Delaware, and Maryland, capitals and farms are compriſed in the general computation of taxable property; in other ſtates theſe are not ſubject to any tax.

" 3d. In the ſtates of New York, Rhode Iſland, Delaware, and Maryland, taxes are impoſed on the general maſs of property, real or perſonal, with particular exceptions in each of theſe ſtates; in the other ſtates, taxes are impoſed only upon ſpecific articles of property.

" 4th. In all the ſtates, excepting Vermont and Delaware, land is taxed, compriſing the lands unincloſed and uncultivated; and there is reaſon to believe that the ſame meaſure will be adopted in the two latter ſtates.

" In North Carolina lands are taxed by the quantity, without regard to their nature or ſpecies of

collected by the officers of the Union, which mode of collection would be attended with great expence. The committee of finances in the houſe of repreſentatives, who laid before the houſe the propoſition for this tax, eſtimates the expences of collection at twenty-ſeven and a half per cent.

It is to be obſerved, that the popular party, that is to ſay, the *anti-federaliſts*, in the houſe, gave their ſupport to the meaſure, perceiving that the eſtabliſhment of a direct tax whoſe weight ſhould be immediately felt by every citizen of the United States, would probably furniſh ſome check on the diſpoſition they aſcribe to the government of ſquandering money in uſeleſs expences. The *federaliſts* oppoſed the plan, and perhaps were not uninfluenced by the ſame reaſons. All the adherents, however, of the reſpective parties did not vote with their leaders on this occaſion. Many members of the houſe were guided by their own opinions of the tax; and thoſe opinions, which, no doubt flowed principally from a regard to the public welfare, were in ſome inſtances aſcribed to private conſiderations, according to the circumſtances of the perſons voting.

Before I conclude this article on the finances of the United States, I cannot forbear to touch on a point, connected with the opinion I have al-

ready expreſſed—that the ſtates in their general legiſlation are rather occupied with the means of forcing themſelves into the rank of great and powerful nations than thoſe of conſolidating their ſtrength and increaſing their real power. Perhaps this error in their policy is the natural reſult of the combination of circumſtances which ſurround them; but whatever be the cauſe, it retards their progreſs as a nation, which can be ſecured only by their effectual independence. I have in view chiefly the duties on articles of importation, which I think were not calculated for the ſituation in which America was at the time of their being eſtabliſhed, nor are politic in her preſent ſituation; and their ill effects are, I believe, already evident. If we look, without prejudice and with ſufficient reflection, at the nature of thoſe duties, we ſee they are rather contrived to increaſe the revenues of the general government—no doubt a legitimate object of the taxes---than to add to the real welfare, or to cultivate the morals of the people, and conſequently to add to the ſecurity of the independence of the Union—objects ſurely not leſs neceſſary than a tax. The ſyſtem of theſe taxes is evidently deſigned to give encouragement to the commerce and navigation of the United States; and for that object merely it is combined with foreſight.

foreſight. But commerce is only a ſecondary object in an extenſive continental nation, abounding with uncultivated lands. The more important objects of its attention are—the cultivation of its lands, the increaſe of its own raw produce, and the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, to make it independent of other nations for all the articles of the firſt neceſſity. Commerce is no more than the means of exchanging a ſurplus of produce for articles that a nation cannot produce or manufacture. If it proceeds beyond that point, eſpecially in a nation in its infancy, it collects in the places where it is carried on, the population which would otherwiſe ſpread generally, and which ought to be employed in making the country generally productive; while it tends to fill the country with foreign goods, and for a long time retards the eſtabliſhment of manufactures at home. Fortunes may be made by individuals in this courſe; but it is a courſe that impedes the progreſs of a nation to independence and proſperity. The duties on importation in the United States appear to me to place them in this ſituation. They are no doubt very high; but as there are few manufactures in the United States, the duties do not at all prevent the introduction of foreign merchandiſe, which turns all the diſpoſable labour, or the greater part of it, to

navigation, for the introduction of foreign merchandiſe is the ſupport of navigation, and enables it to afford wages for labour greatly exceeding what can be given by agriculture. The dearneſs of labour alſo oppoſes itſelf to the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, which are attended with difficulties and hazard, even in countries where labour is cheap. The money of the United States, and the produce of their lands, enriches foreign nations, eſpecially England, with whom their commerce is the moſt conſiderable, and indeed to whom it is almoſt wholly confined. It is a real tax paid by America to England. Part of this money, indeed, remains in the hands of the American merchants, and conſequently returns to the cultivator of the lands, but the greater part enriches a foreign country.

The reader will be enabled to judge of the truth of theſe obſervations by the following comparative view of the amount of the importation of the produce of the United States into England, and the importation of Engliſh merchandiſe into the United States, preſented in 1796, to the houſe of commons in England.

Imports

Imports of the ſeveral United States into England.

States.	Years. 1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. ſterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	101,616	88,701	40,401	154,013
New York	156,769	149,975	92,947	165,864
Pennſylvania	42,620	168,798	35,809	485,310
Maryland	118,490	102,198	35,388	78,741
Virginia	309,482	262,681	294,219	189,467
North Carolina	44,656	28,000	8,012	19,340
South Carolina	219,839	167,625	104,055	230,849
Georgia	45,232	36,059	14,898	28,548
	1,038,707	904,040	625,733	1,352,136

Imports of England into the ſeveral United States.

States.	Years. 1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. ſterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	614,363	435,825	517,445	672,337
New York	834,041	763,980	1,021,997	1,346,634
Pennſylvania	781,074	855,206	708,832	1,307,736
Maryland	505,119	547,583	640,129	656,148
Virginia	846,517	549,032	662,160	771,487
North Carolina	38,157	25,512	9,293	15,768
South Carolina	575,266	311,274	227,588	570,429
Georgia	76,877	26,260	12,423	13,573
	4,271,418	3,514,681	3,859,871	5,254,114

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, EXPORTATION, TONNAGE, &c.

The preceding article gives a good idea of the commerce of the United States, as far as a judgment can be formed from the entries made in the cuſtom-houſe books.

Another way of judging of the advantage of a commercial intercourſe between two ſtates, is the value of bills of exchange. Thoſe of the United States drawn upon London, at ſixty days ſight, have always been at two per cent at leaſt above par, except in the month of November 1792 only, when they were at par; and ſince they have been at ſix, and even as much as nine per cent above par.

The balance of trade may be ſomewhat in favour of the United States in their dealings with other nations; but that is a very inſufficient compenſation for the diſadvantage they labour under in their commercial intercourſe with England, and that ſolely on account of the manufactured articles which they take from that country.

This ſyſtem, ſo ruinous to the fortunes of the American people, is ſtill more prejudicial to its morals. The merchant in the ports of America, who receives manufactured goods from abroad,

naturally endeavours to increaſe the conſumption of them, ſince it increaſes his profit. He therefore diffuſes them in the interior, and as far as he can hope to find a ſale; and a taſte for foreign commodities accompanies their introduction into the moſt diſtant provinces.

There is no point of the United States, however remote, even in the woods, in which one ſtore, and frequently more, may not be found. There are eſtabliſhed warehouſes for foreign goods, which are emptied and filled again twice in the year, and of which the proprietors make a rapid fortune.

The home manufactures do not ſuffice alone to ſatisfy the taſte for luxury, which is inſpired by the ſight of articles more elegant, more ſhowy, and more in faſhion in the great towns

A woman, or a young lad, would be aſhamed to appear on a Sunday at church, without a gown, a waiſtcoat, or a hat, manufactured in Europe, for which they pay as much as ſixty per cent dearer than in the ſhops of Philadelphia or New York.

A taſte for luxury leads to expenſive habits, and conſequently to imprudence. It is therefore an obſtacle to the complete happineſs which this nation ſeems deſtined by nature to enjoy. The introduction of theſe foreign commodities into the

the back-ſettlements may be compared to the introduction of rum and whiſky among the Indians. The motive is the ſame, and produces the ſame effects.

The abundant importation of merchandiſe manufactured in England into the United States, naturally proceeds from thoſe ſtates having been habituated, while Engliſh colonies, to receive them from the mother country, of which it was the intereſt to keep its manufactories conſtantly at work, and which, from its being the ſeat of power, poſſeſſed all the means of forcing that importation.

It may be eaſily conceived that, after the revolution, the opulent inhabitants of the American cities, muſt naturally have retained their taſte for Engliſh ſtuffs and furniture, and the habit of uſing them; and that it was the intereſt of the Engliſh merchants to encourage that habit; and this it was the more eaſy for them to do, as the old American houſes having been almoſt all diſperſed by the revolution, the American merchants were in general little elſe at that time than the agents of Engliſh houſes. This ſtate of things is then what it could not fail to be, ſince the legiſlature has oppoſed no obſtacle to the prevalence of habit and individual intereſt.

With more wiſdom and foreſight, it ſeems that

that the government of the United States would have prohibited all articles of luxury manufactured abroad, or at leaſt would have taxed them as high as circumſtances would have permitted, without giving too great encouragement to ſmuggling.

Public ſpirit effectually prohibited them, during the revolution; and yet every one was then clothed, although many hands were taken away from the loom by military ſervice, and by the uneaſineſs and misfortunes always attendant upon war; and the population is now nearly double what it then was. Neceſſity would immediately have extended domeſtic manufactories, and would have led to the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of national ones.

At the outſet their productions would have been of a coarſe quality. People too nice to be contented with them, might then have procured foreign merchandize, by paying double or treble their real value; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the inhabitants would ſoon have accuſtomed themſelves to the manufactures of the country, ſince it would not have been eaſy for them to procure the produce of other peoples' labour. The home manufactories would conſequently have made a rapid advance towards perfection.

Navigation

Navigation employing fewer hands, agriculture would have had more at its diſpoſal. The increaſe of cattle, now very ſcarce in America, would have been one of the conſequences of keeping up the national, domeſtic, and other manufactures.

The Engliſh, French, and other artiſans, now working in Europe upon the merchandize exported to America, would have brought their induſtry into the United States, where they would have obtained a more comfortable livelihood.

The United States would have reaſon to fear, that the prohibition of foreign merchandize in their ports would have prevented their own produce from finding an outlet. The productions of the United States are articles of the firſt neceſſity; and ſeveral of them are to be found only within their territory.

As to their navigation, their fiſheries alone would have been a nurſery for more ſeamen than they will ſoon have occaſion for, it is to be hoped, in order to man their veſſels of war; and their commerce would not have been therefore annihilated. No doubt, it would have been leſs brilliant than we have ſeen it for ſome years, but it would have been more ſolid.

America would have had leſs credit abroad; but that credit is her ruin. She would have had

had leſs fictitious riches; but would have poſſeſſed more real wealth. Fewer emigrants from other countries would have come to her with a view of making fortunes; but ſhe would have received a much greater proportion of the laborious claſſes of the community. Thoſe fortunes which give ſuch fallacious indications of proſperity, are all made at the expence of America; they carry away the money, and leave there nothing but European habits, I had almoſt ſaid vices.

The real balance of trade would have been in her favour; and it has been ſeen how much it is againſt her. She would have had fewer ſpeculations and ſpeculators, but better morals; a leſs ſplendid diſplay of luxury, but more republican inſtitutions. The intercourſe with foreign nations would have been leſs expenſive; but finding within herſelf the means of ſupplying all her wants, ſhe would have been more independent. In a word, ſhe would have acquired every year an increaſe of ſubſtantial *enbonpoint*; whereas, that on which ſhe boaſts, and on which ſhe is congratulated, is nothing but a bloated appearance of corpulence.

No doubt the cuſtomhouſe would have produced leſs to the national treaſury, but direct taxes would eaſily have ſupplied the deficiency; and

and if the United States had followed this ſyſtem from the time of the revolution, their own induſtry would have been almoſt adequate to their wants; whereas at preſent they cannot do without the aſſiſtance of foreigners, except in the manufacturing of hats and leather, of which the raw materials are the produce of their own country.

They are dependent; and that dependence which ariſes from their wants, and which will always increaſe in proportion as luxury, already at a great height in America, ſhall be carried higher ſtill, may have an influence upon the political determinations of the United States; and may lead them into great errors, and to the adoption of meaſures ſooner or later prejudicial to their intereſt.

Several manufactories of ſail-cloth have been eſtabliſhed in the United States with tolerable ſucceſs, but have been carried to no great extent. Every year alſo ſome ſpinning eſtabliſhments, and even cotton manufactories, are attempted to be ſet on foot; but the following year they are ſure to fall; for no other reaſon than the high price of labour, which is itſelf a conſequence of the general ſyſtem of taxation.

I have ſpoken of the exports of the different ſtates of the federal union, in proportion as my travels

travels have carried me into thoſe different ſtates, and more or leſs in detail, according to the nature of the information that I was able to procure. The exports of the general commerce of America are the reſult of thoſe of the particular ſtates. Here follow the totals, as preſented annually to the congreſs by the ſecretary of the treaſury.

It was only from the 1ſt of September 1789, that an exact amount was taken of them, that of the preceding years being imperfect. In accounts of this ſort, the year begins on the 1ſt of October, and ends on the 30th of September following.

Amount of the Exports of the United States.

1791, — 19,012,040 dollars.
1792, — 20,753,097
1793, — 26,109,572
1794, — 33,026,233
1795, — 47,989,472
1796, — 67,064,097

This ſtatement exhibits a progreſſive augmentation, ſuch perhaps as never exiſted in any country in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. But this is the place to repeat what I have ſaid as often as I have had an opportunity of ſpeaking of the exports of different ſtates, that any one would be groſsly deceived

deceived who ſhould judge of the increaſe of the produce and reſources of the United States by this enormous augmentation of their exports.

The exports conſiſt,

1. Of the productions of the country, which, although increaſed in quantity to a certain degree, have riſen much more in value; ſome forty per cent, others a hundred, two hundred, and even more. This is owing to the wants of Europe, exhauſted by the war in which it has been engaged. The value then of theſe exports is far from being an exact repreſentation of the real wealth of the country, which can only be the reſult of an increaſe in the quantity of its produce.

2. The war, in which all the commercial powers have been engaged for five years more or leſs, keeps their trade in a ſtate of almoſt total ſtagnation. The United States are a kind of temporary *depot* of the produce of all countries, and of many of their colonies, where, before the war, American veſſels had not, by a great deal, ſo extenſive a permiſſion to trade. Foreign produce is therefore brought into the ports of the United States in much greater quantities than their conſumption requires, and in much greater quantities alſo than it would be if Europe were at peace.

The commodities over and above the conſumption

ſumption of the United States are re-exported, and ſupply the different ſtates of Europe and their colonies.

This increaſed exportation is then, in this point of view, a very uncertain indication of the real increaſe of the wealth of the United States, ſince it does not depend upon the produce of their ſoil, and neither is nor can be laſting, A compariſon of the quantity of the produce of the ſoil of the United States exported annually, during ſix years, will furniſh an inconteſtible proof of the truth of the foregoing obſervations.

It is, again, from the accounts preſented to congreſs by the ſecretary of the treaſury, that I have made out this ſtatement.

Account

MERCHANDIZE.

Potaſh and pearlaſh	—	—	—	
Fiſh, dried and ſmoked,	—	—	—	
Ditto, ſalt	—	—	—	Barrels, fro
Whale and other fiſh oil	—	—	Gallons, re	
Spermaceti oil	—	—	—	—
Whalebone	—	—	—	—
Spermaceti candles	—	—	Boxes, fro	
Leaf tobacco	—	—	Caſks, from 1,00	
Manufactured tobacco	—	—	—	
Linſeed	—	—	—	—
Wheat	—	—	—	— Bu
Corn of other kinds	—	—	—	Bar
Flour	—	—	—	— Bar
Ditto of rye, maize, and buck-wheat	—	Bar		
Sea biſcuit	—	—	—	—
Ditto	—	—	—	—
Rice	—	—	—	— Tier
Beef, pork, bacon	—	—	—	Bar
Butter	—	—	Firkins, from	
Cheeſe	—	—	—	—
Onions and potatoes	—	—	—	—
Horned cattle	—	—	—	—
Horſes and Mules	—	—	—	
Pigs and ſheep	—	—	—	—
Ox hides, calf and ſheep ſkins	—	—	-	
Leather	—	—	—	—
Shoes and boots	—	—	—	-
Tallow	—	—	—	—
Candles	—	—	Boxes from	
Naval ſtores, pitch, turpentine, roſin, tar, &c. &c.	—	Bar		
Iron	—	—	—	— Ton
*Indigo	—	—	—	—
*Cotton	—	—	—	— —

* Theſe two laſt articles are alſo imported in conſiderable quantities produce of the United States from that which is the reſult of foreign ; Carolina and in Georgia, and that that of cotton is very much increaſe

Upon examining this ſtatement with attention, it will be ſeen,

1. That the quantity of wheat exported from the United States is diminiſhed, and that the increaſe in the exportation of flour, proceeding from the great number of mills that have been ſucceſſively erected, and in that of ſea-biſcuit, does not by a great deal compenſate the decreaſe in the exportation of wheat. This decreaſe, for which I have met with no one who could give me a reaſon completely ſatisfactory, is owing, in part, to the ravages committed in ſeveral ſtates by the Heſſian fly, which has made it neceſſary to abandon the cultivation of wheat, and in part to the great quantity of land laid down in paſture. But I muſt again repeat, that the difference in the exportation of wheat is too great to be explained in this manner, eſpecially as in many new ſettlements, corn is cultivated at leaſt during the firſt years; and as in many parts of Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland, the cultivation of wheat has very generally ſuperſeded that of tobacco and indigo.

The conſumption may be increaſed in the great towns by the increaſe of their population; and alſo in ſome of the back ſettlements, where, owing to a want of corn-mills, the uſe of wheat-flour was formerly almoſt unknown. But this

increaſe of conſumption cannot be very great; for in almoſt every part of the United States where wheat is cultivated, the inhabitants live upon rye-bread, and ſtill more commonly upon maize or Indian-corn.

2. That the exportation of other corn, that is to ſay, rye, barley, &c. is alſo diminiſhed. This is owing to the increaſed conſumption of the diſtilleries, which, though checked of late by the high price of grain, has nevertheleſs been very conſiderable during the laſt ſix years.

3. It will be ſeen that the exportation of leaf tobacco is very much diminiſhed, and that this diminution is not compenſated by the great increaſe of manufactured tobacco; becauſe it is true, as I have obſerved in my account of the ſouthern ſtates, that the cultivation of tobacco is exceedingly decreaſed.

4. That the increaſe of culture has been directed to that of vegetables, onions, and potatoes, and that it is conſiderable; and that it has taken a ſtill greater turn towards artificial meadows, or what are called grazing farms. The enormous difference between the progreſſive exports from 1791 to 1796, of cheeſe, butter, tallow, candles, and manufactured ſhoes, is a proof of it; although it is true that the tanneries of the United States import a great quantity of raw hides

hides from that part of St. Domingo which formerly belonged to the Spaniards.

5. It will alſo be remarked, that the produce of the fiſheries is much increaſed in the laſt ſix years; but the greater part of this produce, ſo conſiderably augmented in quantity, is in itſelf of little value, excepting the whale fiſhery; and although the amount of its whole value exceeds that of the value of produce diminiſhed in quantity, the increaſe is hardly of any account in the immenſe progreſſion of the general value of the exports, which was eſtimated at nineteen millions twelve thouſand and forty dollars in 1791, and at ſixty-ſeven millions ſixty-four thouſand and ninety-ſeven dollars in 1796.

The following account of the exportation of foreign produce will prove how much of the increaſe in the exports of the United States is owing to that branch of commerce.

Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of Foreign Produce.

Merchandize.	YEARS.					
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Coffee lbs.	962,977	2,336,742	- - -	- - -	- - -	62,385,117
Cocoa lbs.	8,322	6,600	200,691	1,141,802	525,442	928,107
Unrefined ſugar lbs.	74,504	1,176,156	4,539,809	17,563,811	21,999,889	34,848,644
Pimento and pepper, lbs.	142,193	351,675	128,616	60,959	543,664	989,358
Merchandize known by the name of dry-goods, ſhifts of all ſorts, ſtockings, paper, &c. valued in dollars.	29,367	- - -	- - -	- - -	2,879,198	6,554,346
Nankeens pieces	7,072	12,340	10,972	40,752	186,526	349,000

I ſhall

I ſhall add to this an amount of the drawback upon the re-exportation of foreign produce imported into the United States in the courſe of the years 1793, 1794, 1795; I was not able to procure one of the two preceding years, nor of the year 1796.

I do not pretend to give, by this ſtatement, a preciſe idea of the conſumption of foreign produce in the United States; becauſe goods being intitled to the right of a drawback for a whole year after they have been entered in the cuſtom-houſe books, it ſometimes happens that articles which have paid the duties in one year, and which are included in the receipts of that year, are not re-exported till the year after.

The following account, however, will afford an idea generally true, of the conſumption of that produce; and it will ſhew, that the conſumption of colonial commodities is little augmented in the United States, while that of articles manufactured in England is conſiderably increaſed.

Account of the Duties paid upon certain Articles of foreign Produce, and of the Drawbacks paid upon their re-exportation, for the years 1793, 1794, *and* 1795.

Merchandize.	YEARS.					
	1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.
Dry goods, &c.*	1,823,442	9,065	2,339,323	19,506	3,563,441	85,780
Coffee	1,396,652	169,928	1,680,163	1,141,523	2,694,902	1,946,226
Cocoa	29,182	6,201	54,542	19,246	73,576	46,884
Unrefined ſugar	660,350	13,634	727,332	155,760	970,888	365,423
Pimento and pepper	32,740	3,814	68,768	5,362	70,240	39,134

* Nankeens, which pay a duty of thirteen per cent upon importation, are included in this article.

No doubt this increaſe in the exports gives a great increaſe of activity to trade: no doubt, alſo the riſe of the price of commodities is another augmentation of wealth; but it can only be conſidered as temporary. This, perhaps, is the place to ſay a few words concerning the nature and poſition of the commerce of the United States.

As long as the United States were Engliſh colonies, their trade was regulated by the intereſt and ambition of the mother country, and could only be conſidered as a branch of the Engliſh commerce. This is nearly the caſe with Ireland at preſent.

The accounts preſented to the Engliſh Parliament, which will be found hereto annexed, of the imports and exports of the ſtates of America, during the laſt twelve years that they were Engliſh colonies, will prove how great has been the increaſe of the commerce of the United States ſince that period.

Yet if they be compared with an account of the commerce carried on between the United States and England, from 1792 to 1795, inſerted in the preceding part of this volume, it will alſo prove how much the imports of the Engliſh manufactures into the United States have augmented, ſince the latter became independent.

Hence it appears, that the augmentation in

the commerce of the United States, and conſequently their independence, which may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of it, have been exceedingly advantageous to England, who nevertheleſs conſiders their emancipation as an injury, and would not be ſorry to have an opportunity of taking her revenge.

I am far from thinking, however, that France, on being made ſenſible of this truth, ought to regret for a moment the efforts ſhe made to aſſiſt North America in obtaining the acknowledgment of her independence. Thoſe efforts, even though the United States may be in general forgetful of them at this moment, are nevertheleſs one of the moſt honourable traits of French generoſity. Beſides, France has had a ſhare in the trade of the United States, which ſhe would never have had, if they had remained ſubject to England; a ſhare which, with better conduct, ſhe might have rendered much greater ſtill, and which, with rational principles, ſhe may no doubt hereafter increaſe. In a word, theſe great ſervices rendered by France will, as long as there is any gratitude in the United States, leave in the minds of their inhabitants an inclination for the friendſhip and alliance of France, which all the intrigues of England can only ſuſpend for a time.

Account

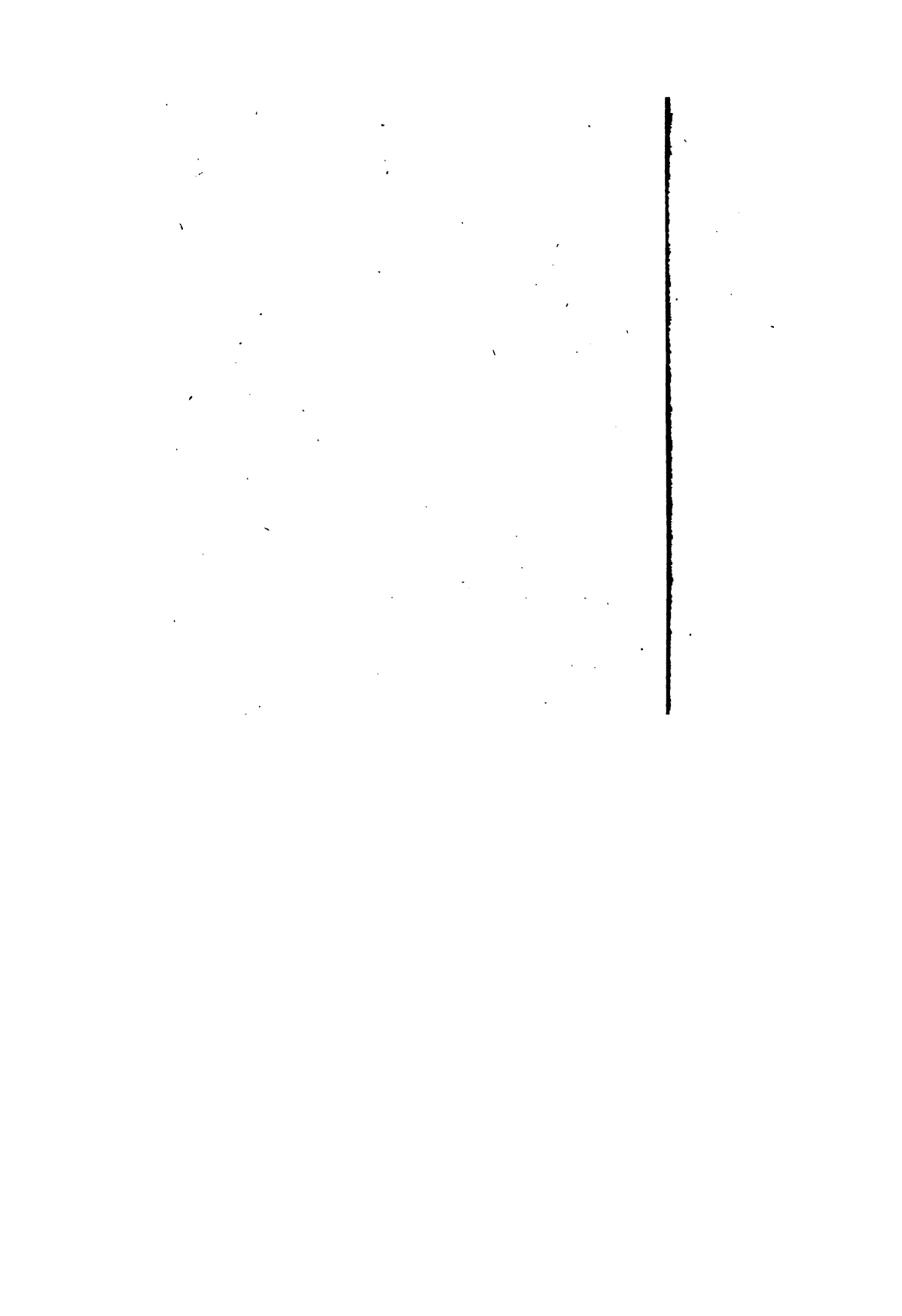
Account of the Value of the Imports

COLONIES.	1763.	1764.	1
	£.	£.	
New England . . .	71,253	92,593	1
New York	53,988	53,697	
Pennſylvania	38,228	36,258	
Virginia and Maryland.	642,294	559,408	5
Carolina	382,366	341,727	3
Totals . .	1,188,129	1,083,683	1,1

Account of the Value of the

COLONIES.	1763.	1764.	1
	£.	£.	
New England . . .	258,854	462,573	4
New York	238,560	515,416	3
Pennſylvania	284,152	435,191	3
Virginia and Maryland.	555,391	515,192	3
Carolina	250,132	305,808	3
Totals . .	1,587,089	2,234,180	1,9

	£.
Total of the Imports for 11 Years,	12,291,039
Freight, Inſurance and Profit at 12 per cent	1,474,924
	13,765,963
Average for a Year . .	1,251,451=



It was at the peace by which England acknowledged their independence, that the United States began to trade under their own colours. But the great diſtreſs in which they were left by the war, and the weakneſs of the confederacy, rendered their commerce ſtill very precarious.

Each ſtate had its particular laws, prohibitions, and regulations.

Some of them ſhut their ports againſt certain foreign merchandize, to which others opened theirs.

The laws and the cuſtomhouſe rates changed every year, according to momentary conſiderations; and the moſt natural reſult of this order of things was, an active rivality and jealouſy between the different ſtates. It is then, properly ſpeaking, ſince the adoption of the new conſtitution, that the name of the commerce of the United States may be given to the commerce of the different ſtates of North America.

The firſt cauſe, however, of the increaſed commerce of the United States, may be carried as far back as the end of the year 1784. At that period, an order of the king of France in council, opened to their ſhips three ports in St. Domingo, whither they were allowed to carry ſalt fiſh, upon paying a ſmall duty. This order alſo authoriſed the adminiſtrators of the iſland to permit the

the importation of their flour, whenever occaſion might require it. The American ſhips, till then, had only had permiſſion to carry timber and live ſtock to St. Domingo, and that only into a ſingle port. They were reſtricted by the new order, as they were before, from taking any thing in exchange except ſyrups and molaſſes. According, then, to the letter of the edict, their returns could be of no great value; but the admiſſion of American ſhips into three ports of St. Domingo, gave a greater facility to ſmuggling, of which they did not fail to avail themſelves.

The Engliſh, it is true, carried Jamaica ſugar and coffee into the ports of the United States; but they were without competitors, and ſold them at a high price.

The wants of the United States required a much greater quantity than they received from England, and their intereſt ſtimulated them to procure it in a direct way.

Flour and dry goods were fraudulently introduced into the iſland. Raw ſugar and coffee were fraudulently exported; and the returns began to be of ſome importance, though ſtill much reſtricted in quantity, by the illegality of the means made uſe of to obtain them.

But this traffic ſoon ceaſed to be illicit. The violent ſhock which the revolution gave to the manufactures

manufactures and commerce of France, forced her to open the ports of her colonies to the veſſels of neutral powers.

From that moment the Americans engroſſed all the commerce of the French colonies, which they were ſo well ſituated to carry on, and which promiſed them ſuch conſiderable profits.

The others powers of Europe which had alſo colonies in the Weſt Indies, being almoſt all ſucceſſively engaged in the war, opened the ports of their colonies in like manner to the Americans, or at leaſt conſiderably diminiſhed their prohibitive regulations.

Thus the commerce of the United States had the victualling of the Weſt India iſlands, as well as an excluſive trade with the French and Dutch colonies, not only in proviſions, but alſo in commodities of every kind. Their ſhips were freighted to carry Weſt India produce to Europe, and to bring back in return the articles neceſſary for the conſumption both of the United States, and of thoſe ſame colonies.

The new conſtitution of the United States was eſtabliſhed at the moment when the French revolution began, and ſhortly after the new ſyſtem of American finances was adopted. The conſequent creation of ſtock of different kinds, the putting up of land to ſale, and the eſta-

bliſhment

bliſhment of banks, opened a vaſt field to ſpeculation, and to commercial enterpriſe. The ſtate of Europe favoured thoſe enterpriſes; they were extended, and the commerce of the United States ſoon reached the Eaſt Indies, China, and every part of the known world. Its profits have been conſiderable.

Such is the brief hiſtory of the rapid and enormous increaſe of the trade of the United States; but it is preciſely from the rapidity of that immenſe increaſe, that we may prognoſticate the ſhortneſs of its duration.

The proſperity of a nation's commerce cannot be durable, unleſs it be founded upon a ſolid baſis; and the ſolid baſis of a nation's commerce is the produce of its ſoil, of its manufactures, and of its colonies, when it has any. Theſe are its only permanent riches, thoſe of which it alone can diſpoſe; its produce, and the commodities it receives in exchange, are the natural limits of its trade.

If a nation by extraordinary circumſtances, unconnected with its internal proſperity, ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe occaſioned by the troubles and tranſient misfortunes of other nations, take a flight far beyond its natural means, and much above the ſituation in which it is placed by its own reſources, its proſperity cannot be of long duration.

duration. A change in external circumſtances muſt ſpeedily bring it back to the ſtate aſſigned to it by the extent or the mediocrity of its wealth. Such is the ſituation of the trade of the United States of America, which the troubles of Europe have rendered flouriſhing, but which the return of tranquillity will reduce to its priſtine ſtate.

If the European powers, engaged in a terrible war, forced to devote all their means to it, incapable of going themſelves to fetch the articles they ſtand in need of from foreign ports, nay, even incapable of victualling their colonies, and of receiving the produce of them in a direct way; if the European powers have been under the neceſſity of leaving to neutral flags the trade which they could not undertake themſelves, does it follow that they have abandoned it to them entirely? Is it not certain that they will haſten to reſume, as ſoon as they are able, the trade which naturally belongs to them, ſince they have within themſelves the means of carrying it on?

In matters of commerce a nation gives up to others only what it cannot undertake itſelf, and even ſuppoſing that it grants them momentary advantages, it is ſolely with a view to its own intereſt; it will withhold them, as ſoon as it perceives that its intereſt is injured by this conceſſion.

ceſſion. Political conſiderations, or a friendly alliance can alone induce them to act otherwiſe.

We are not yet arrived at the period when nations, diſcovering their own intereſt in a greater generoſity of principles, will by general conſent give abſolute and entire liberty to trade. That period, if ever it ſhould arrive, is not yet at hand. It therefore cannot be doubted but that the European powers, according to their accuſtomed ſyſtem, will lay prohibitory reſtrictions upon all trade that is not their own, and will thus reduce the United States of America to the limited commerce which they carried on before the troubles of Europe.

I do not mean, however, that the United States are not ſuſceptible of an increaſe in their commerce. I am far from thinking ſo. The extent of their territory, the fertility of their ſoil, the induſtry of their inhabitants, their bold and enterpriſing diſpoſition, their rapidly increaſing population, the great bays that penetrate into the country, the number of fine rivers that water it, the facility of cutting canals, in order to open a communication between them, and this to connect the great lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico; all theſe circumſtances promiſe them a degree of proſperity, which

which muſt in future ages render this part of the world the rival, and perhaps the fortunate rival, of Europe.

But then the United States will have a rich produce from their ſoil, extenſive manufactures, a great abundance of reſources within themſelves, and all this can only take place in conſequence of a ſucceſſive progreſſion of thoſe reſources, and after a long ſeries of years of peace and internal tranquillity; in a word, by the gradual operation of time. But it is of the preſent moment and of the exiſting circumſtances of the United States that I am ſpeaking, when I apply to the ſudden increaſe of their commerce this inconteſtable political truth, that all proſperity which is not the reſult of natural reſources, and which depends ſolely on extraordinary and foreign cauſes, can only be conſidered as tranſient, and rather oppoſes than favours an increaſe of wealth in the country that experiences it.

This truth, which holds good in regard to all nations, has a ſtill ſtronger application to nations abſolutely new, whoſe commercial houſes are hardly eſtabliſhed, when theſe uncommonly favourable circumſtances enable them to give a conſiderable extenſion to their ſpeculations. The misfortunes of individual traders, from which they can only eſcape by a degree of prudence, almoſt

moſt ſupernatural, adds much in ſuch times to the danger which the nation itſelf runs from the temporary inflation of its trade.

Before the French revolution the capitals which kept alive the trade of the United States were inconſiderable, their commerce being very much confined; and even part of thoſe capitals were Engliſh property, either directly, or in the ſhape of credit, given by the Engliſh houſes to the American ones. If the American merchants had been prudent enough to take, out of the enormous quantity of buſineſs which a ſudden combination of circumſtances preſented to them, only ſuch a part as was proportioned to their capitals, their enterpriſes would have been much leſs extenſive, and the appearance of their proſperity leſs brilliant; but their ſucceſs would have been more ſolid and more certain.

They ſet, on the contrary, no bounds to their ambition, and only conſidered commercial affairs with a view to the enormous profits they ſeemed to afford. Speculations in land held out a new lure to their avidity; and independently of the gain they promiſed themſelves from a reſale highly advantageous, they found in them alſo a ſource of credit, becauſe they had, for a long time, nothing to pay for their acquiſitions, and becauſe they hoped ſpeedily to receive ſome ready money

money from new purchaſers loaded with capitals whom they expected to ſee driven in crowd, acroſs the Atlantic by the ſtate of affairs in Europe.

Laſtly, the eſtabliſhment of banks, and the quantity of paper in circulation, afforded them alſo new means of obtaining credit. Truſting in all theſe hopes, they ventured, without reſerve, upon every ſpeculation which held out the ſmalleſt proſpect of gain. A ſpirit of enterpriſe, and a boldneſs in the execution of their plans, which ſets all danger at defiance, are two remarkable characteriſtics of the American people, in almoſt all the ſituations of life. Theſe are, no doubt, the germ of great qualities, and may be the means of great ſucceſs; but if this ſpirit of enterpriſe, and this boldneſs were directed by prudence, they would lead to a much ſafer reſult; whereas without it they tend to conſequences ſo much the more ruinous and inevitable, as they have not been foreſeen.

What happened to the American merchants?

1. Delays natural to be expected in the diſpatching of their orders, and often tardy returns, which though not hurtful to commerce in general, are highly prejudicial to merchants, when far from reckoning upon them, they think that

they cannot take place, and enter into engagements in conſequence of that flattering opinion.

2. The taking of a great number of their ſhips, firſt by England, who, independently of her hoſtile views towards France, gratified, by ſeizing them, the jealouſy which ſhe felt at the commercial proſperity of a nation, that ſhe has never ceaſed to conſider as an aſſemblage of rebellious ſubjects, and afterwards by France, who was deſirous, above all, of injuring the Engliſh commerce; and, at the ſame time, expreſſed her diſcontent at the advantage given to England by her old ally America.

3. The ſpeculations in land proved erroneous. The number of thoſe who preſented themſelves as purchaſers bore no proportion to the number of thoſe who wiſhed to ſell, and who were hard preſſed by want.

4. The banks, numerous as they became, could not anſwer the demands of diſcount, which came to them from all quarters, conſequently they did not diſcount all the bills which were preſented to them, and the longeſt date of thoſe they received did not exceed ſixty days.

5, and laſtly, the prices of commodities fell ſpeedily in Europe very much below what the American ſpeculators had paid for the ſame articles

eles in the territory of the United States; and, in the mean time, the day of fulfilling the engagements they had contracted, in order to ſend their ſhips to ſea, was conſtantly coming round; the period of thoſe entered into upon the purchaſe of land, though it might ſometimes experience a little delay, was ſure alſo to come at laſt; the commodities, which were prevented from being ſent to Europe by the low prices they bore there, were alſo to be paid for; and if any merchant had received ſums of money in truſt, which had enabled him to extend his concerns with a little more ſolidity, he was obliged to refund thoſe ſums upon the firſt demand, which was neceſſarily accelerated by the precarious and dangerous ſtate of commerce.

Such is the diſagreeable ſituation in which the American merchants were involved, and in which they are ſtill more deeply involved every day; ſuch of them, at leaſt, as in their enterpriſes were rather led away by their avidity than guided by prudence and reflection, and theſe are the greater numbers.

It may be eaſily conceived that the means by which they endeavour to extricate themſelves from theſe embarraſſments are very difficult, and require great ſacrifices.

Thoſe in general employed are as follows:

First, a requeſt made to ſome friend for his credit for thirty or ſixty days.

But it ſeldom happens that an American merchant does not find his friend in the ſame neceſſity. They therefore accommodate each other with notes at ſixty days ſight, and endeavour to get them diſcounted at ſome bank, which is often obliged to refuſe, on account of the great diſproportion between its means and the great number of ſimilar applications.

Theſe notes are then given to an exchange broker, who, according to the ſtate of the money market, and the name of the indorſer, ſells them at two, and three, and ſometimes four and five per cent per month diſcount.

Theſe notes are afterwards depoſited at the bank by the purchaſer, and it then becomes highly neceſſary to pay them when due; for there is no more credit, no more poſſibility of diſcount, for a merchant, whoſe bill has been proteſted after once being depoſited at the bank.

They alſo endeavour to obtain others, of which they avail themſelves in the ſame manner.

But it will not do to put too many notes into circulation. Their renewal, too often repeated, might have a bad effect upon their credit, which it is important for them not entirely to loſe. They then buy bills of exchange upon London at a long

a long date, and ſell them for ready money below par. This is a frequent means of procuring caſh.

Sometimes goods are taken upon the longeſt credit that can be obtained, and ſhipped for a foreign market; and, in this caſe, the American merchant draws according to his neceſſities, the London merchants engaging to accept the conſigner's notes for two-thirds of the amount of the conſignment, upon tranſmitting to them the bill of lading, and empowering them to make the inſurance.

If theſe means fail, the merchant whoſe wants are urgent, ſends his merchandiſe, if he have any, to a public auction, or elſe he procures dry goods at a high price, and at five or ſix months credit, and has them publicly ſold, very often with the loſs of twenty-five or thirty per cent.

Sometimes he endeavours by building houſes, or by ſome other oſtentatious expenſe, to create a falſe opinion of the ſtate of his affairs, which are thereby rendered much worſe.

Such are, in part, the burdenſome means which the merchant, deceived in his ſpeculations, takes in order to prolong his commercial exiſtence. But thoſe means only ſerve to render his ruin more inevitable. At length he can no longer uphold his credit; and it often happens that a houſe which in the evening was thought worth three

or four hundred thouſand dollars, offers in the morning four or five ſhillings in the pound to its creditors.

It is true that examples are not wanting of merchants, who, before they declared their bankruptcy, robbed their creditors of a great part of their money, by donations made to their wives and children, and by concealing paper in their pocket-books. There are alſo inſtances of others, who, upon loſing their credit, ſecretly buy upon 'change, with money kept in reſerve, their own bills, when at a diſcount of perhaps fifty and ſixty per cent.

The latter, though real bankrupts, and even fraudulent ones, avoid the name, and do buſineſs the next day with more certain credit, in proportion as their manœuvre is better known, for they are then ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of property.

As to him who has declared his bankruptcy, as ſoon as he has delivered the remains of his fortune to his creditors he is free by law; and though in ſome ſtates the law gives his creditors a claim upon his future fortune, equal to the amount of the loſs upon their debts, he eaſily evades the regulation, by not diſcovering the profits he may derive from the ſums he has withheld, or by carrying on his new commercial operations under another name.

All

All theſe fatal and ſhameful tranſactions are the natural conſequences of ſpeculations undertaken and carried on without a proportionate capital. And theſe are not the only ones. An American merchant's want of punctuality in his payments, no doubt, inſpires thoſe who may have occaſion to deal with him with diſtruſt; but it does not produce in himſelf any ſentiment of ſhame, and affects his reputation very little, even if it affect it at all.

The merchant who has ſuſpended his payments, and whoſe bills are proteſted, is equally well received upon 'change, in ſociety, and even obtains the moſt diſtinguiſhed public employments. He is generally conſidered as a man who has played his game ill, or who has met with a bad run of luck.

The frequency of theſe examples, common intereſt, and the opinion generally entertained in America, that no one can have any thing more eſſential to do than to endeavour to get money, produce, I will not ſay this toleration, but this total indifference in the public mind.

Thus, while the merchant in Europe is guided in his commercial conduct by his perſonal integrity and the preſervation of his honour, of his credit, and of the reputation of his name, the American merchant has no other reſtraint than

his own honeſty, his ſelf-eſteem, and his conſcience, and though that reſtraint is doubtleſs the moſt powerful when it exiſts, it muſt unfortunately be acknowledged that it is not the moſt common.

It may therefore be ſaid that the merchants of America, who, in conſequence of their prudence and caution in their operations, and moderate uſe of their credit, have conſtantly been exact in their payments, and honourable in their tranſactions, are, on that account, deſerving of particular eſteem, ſince they are an exception to the general depravity.

It muſt not, however, be thought that this exception is very uncommon. There are in America a great number of houſes, either American, Engliſh, or French, which for ſolidity, prudence, punctuality, and delicacy in carrying on buſineſs, do not yield to any of the ſo juſtly famed houſes of Europe. If in this number I name that of Mr. PHILIP NIKLYN, I do not pretend to give it a ſuperiority over the others, by which that merchant's modeſty, and that of Mr. GRIFFITH his partner, would be hurt; but I ſhall be excuſed for ſeeking, by the mention of their names, to gratify a feeling of affection and gratitude for the conſtant marks of friendſhip and kindneſs

which

which I received from them during my ſtay in America, and none of thoſe who are acquainted with Philadelphia will reproach me with having indulged my feelings at the expenſe of truth.

I muſt once more repeat, that there are a great number of houſes of this kind in the United States, but it is not the greater number; and it is the greater number that I am bound to conſider, when I am ſpeaking of the ſtate of commerce in America. Theſe good and ſcrupulous houſes are afflicted at the ſituation of the American trade, by which their own intereſt is often greatly a ſufferer, notwithſtanding their prudent conduct. Their delicacy, as well as their intereſt, is hurt by it; but all they can do is to be upon their guard againſt the ſuſpicious houſes, and to keep a watchful eye over all the others; the moſt honourable merchants being obliged to meet upon 'change, and in almoſt every houſe, and often to ſee in confidential employs, men whom private intereſt, and public honour, ought to devote to reprobation.

This deplorable ſtate of things cannot be natural; but I muſt repeat it again, it is the neceſſary reſult of enterpriſes, and of ſpeculations raſhly hazarded, which are themſelves the reſult of a multiplicity of buſineſs of all kinds, that the

ſituation

ſituation of Europe and the Weſt Indies has produced, and of the dangerous facility afforded by the great number of banks.

In almoſt all the great towns of the United States, and particularly of thoſe to the northward of Baltimore, every body is a merchant; that is to ſay, every body ſpeculates, trades, and jobs in the ſtocks. The judge, the advocate, the phyſician, and the miniſter of divine worſhip, are all, or almoſt all, more or leſs intereſted in the ſale of land, in the purchaſe of goods, in that of bills of exchange, and in lending money at two or three per cent per month: few of them are contented with what they have.

The merit of a man is rather too much eſtimated in America by the fortune which he is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs; and no body lands in this new world without the project of making an ample and rapid fortune; examples of ſucceſs being ſo frequent, that they hold out a great encouragement to theſe projects. The means of executing them were alſo for a long while great; but they are leſs ſo at preſent, at leaſt in this way; and avidity does not diminiſh in the ſame proportion.

Here then are a great many ſnares laid for delicacy; a great many reaſons explanatory of the ſtate of commerce in the United States, and the

the faithful account that I have juſt given of it, will leave no doubt of the truth of my aſſertion, that the brilliant appearance of the trade of the United States, and the increaſe of its activity and of its exports, are no more than a tranſient gleam of proſperity, rather pernicious than uſeful to real wealth, and to true national proſperity.

No doubt, in the midſt of all theſe evils, conſiderable fortunes have ſtarted up. Some of them have been made by prudence and induſtry; others are the offspring of good fortune. The cities are grown infinitely larger, which, in my opinion, is of itſelf a great evil: they are embelliſhed; but luxury has made its way from every quarter into the United States; and when the commerce of Europe reſumes its level, and when peace ſhall have reſtored to every power the enjoyment of its rights, it is much to be feared that nothing will remain to the United States of the aſtoniſhing and momentaneous increaſe of their commercial activity, but a love of luxury, and the impoſſibility of ſatisfying it.

That epoch will probably be alſo the moment of new misfortunes to more than one American houſe; but, as a friend to America, I beg leave to ſay, that if ſhe profit by experience, it may alſo be the epoch of her certain improvement, of her real proſperity, and of a ſolid increaſe of

her

her commerce. She is deſtined by nature for a ſtate of ſtrength and greatneſs, which nothing can prevent her from attaining, but too haſty a pace, which might attempt to conduct her thither without paſſing through the neceſſary gradations.

Before I terminate this article concerning the trade of America, it remains to be ſaid, that all commercial cauſes are ſubmitted, in the United States, to the judgment of the ordinary tribunals, conſequently to a courſe of law which the leaſt ſkilful advocate can protract to the length of eighteen months; and with a little more ability he may ſpin it out to two or three years. This inconvenience is very great in commercial affairs, in which a diſhoneſt man may avail himſelf of the delay, to keep for a long time in his hands a capital, really the property of another, which, by remaining unproductive the whole of that time, occaſions a loſs not likely to be compenſated by the damages that may be awarded to him.

This inconvenience, however great it may be in regard to the merchants ſettled in America, is much greater ſtill with reſpect to the foreign traders, who ſend or carry cargoes, or make conſignments thither. The alternative of a merchant's remaining ſeveral years in America, in order

order to enforce his claims, at a great expence, and of being thus kept at a diſtance from the centre of his affairs; or of being obliged to entruſt the management of his cauſe to another, adds much to the misfortune of ſeeing himſelf deprived, during a tedious law-ſuit, of the uſe of his money, notwithſtanding the clearneſs of his caſe. It is then, that he ſeverely feels the want of thoſe commercial tribunals, of thoſe conſular juriſdictories ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed in France, where the moſt honourable and beſt informed merchants are annually elected as judges; where the proceedings are free from all poſſibility of chicane, and do not coſt more than ſix dollars in expences; where the cauſes apparently the moſt complicated are decided in the ſpace of three weeks; and where there are, I will not ſay none, but very few examples at leaſt, of judges accuſed of partiality in their judgments, or of careleſſneſs in the inveſtigation of facts; and where, in caſe of an appeal to the ſuperior courts, the party in whoſe favour ſentence has been pronounced, can obtain poſſeſſion of the ſum awarded him, or of the effects which he claims, upon giving ſecurity to return them, in caſe of a contrary judgment being pronounced bythe court of appeal.

DEALINGS IN LAND.

In ſpeaking generally of the trade of the United States, I mentioned the traffic that is carried on in land as one of its elements. This kind of commerce is ſo peculiar to North America, that it is deſerving to be made known, at leaſt in a ſuccinct manner.

The traffic in land, is founded upon the conſiderable maſs of land in the territory of the United States, in compariſon with their preſent population, and upon the probability of the augmentation of that population, either by its own means of reproduction, or by foreign emigrations. This traffic is, like all the other branches of trade, and more than any other, a traffic of ſpeculation.

The waſte lands, and they amounted to more than four-fifths of America, were found, at the end of the revolution, to belong to different ſtates, which, as ſovereigns, have inherited this property from the ſovereignty of the crown of England. Many of theſe lands were ſtill occupied by Indian nations; but a part of thoſe nations had, during the war, joined the Engliſh troops againſt the United States. It was neceſſary then to drive them back, or rather it was neceſſary to drive back all the Indians, whoſe vicinage

vicinage the United States bore with impatience. Here it may be proper to remark, that the Indian nations, who were formerly the ſole proprietors of the American continent, and to whoſe hoſpitality the eſtabliſhment of the Europeans is ſolely due, are conſidered by the deſcendants of the firſt coloniſts, as uſurpers of the land which they ſtill poſſeſs, and as only holding it by virtue of their good will and pleaſure.

The lands granted by the kings of England before 1776, have, with ſome exceptions, remained in the poſſeſſion of thoſe to whom the grant was made; but the quantity of theſe was infinitely ſmall, in proportion to the maſs of the uncultivated land. The proportion of the quantities of theſe lands was not even in the *ratio* of the extent of territory of each ſtate. The ſmall ſtates, particularly thoſe that lie near the ſea, having been longer inhabited, poſſeſſed but a ſmall portion; and ſome had none at all; while the great ſtates, thoſe particularly whoſe territory extended far into the interior of America, ſuch as Georgia, the two Carolinas, Virginia, Pennſylvania, the ſtate of New York, Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire, were in poſſeſſion of immenſe quantities. It was neceſſary for theſe ſtates to ſell the waſte lands, in order both to afford their growing population eaſier means of acquiring

ing property, and to hold out a bait to foreign emigration.

Laſtly, the ſtates had debts reſulting from the war, which it was neceſſary to liquidate, without burdening the nation with new taxes. For at firſt it was little able to bear them, and it was even the intereſt of the ſtates to diminiſh the exiſting taxes as much as poſſible, in order to render ſettling in their territory more advantageous and attractive.

In the lands to be ſold were compriſed the confiſcated eſtates of the Tories, who had ſerved the Engliſh during the revolution. The ſtates cannot be accuſed of having enforced this law of confiſcation with too great ſeverity.

In order to bring theſe lands to ſale, the ſtates opened land-offices, where perſons who meant to purchaſe received warrants or commiſſions to have the lands they pointed out ſurveyed, by the ſurveyor of the ſtate; but they were not put in poſſeſſion of them, till it appeared that they had not yet been granted to any one, and were not to receive the title-deeds till they had paid the ſtipulated price, and fulfilled the conditions impoſed by the law.

The lands occupied by the Indians were not immediately ſold; but the ſtates ſold the right of pre-emption, that is to ſay, the excluſive privilege

of

of purchaſing thoſe lands, as ſoon as the Indians ſhould conſent to ſell them; and the ſtate undertook the negotiation, as ſoon as it ſhould deem it poſſible to ſet it on foot.

It is not my intention to enter into a detail of the frequent alterations made by the ſtates in their laws concerning the ſale of land, and of the ſtill more frequent departure from them by the land-offices themſelves; of their conſtant negligence in the examination of the meaſurement, and of the greater or leſs validity of the titles; in a word, of the great abuſes of every kind which have taken place in this branch of the adminiſtration. To do ſo, it would be neceſſary to write a particular hiſtory of the laws and land-offices of each ſtate. Suffice it to ſay, that there are few which have acted with the neceſſary punctuality, few which have dealt fairly and honourably, and few which have ſhewn the attention which we have a right to expect from every public adminiſtration.

The lands were offered to ſale to any one who wiſhed to purchaſe them.

A certain quantity was given to the troops employed during the war.

Several other large portions were put up to ſale by the commiſſioners.

Families, either foreigners or Americans, bought ſmall parcels, with a view of ſettling.

But the ſtates, more taken up with the deſire of obtaining the money, of which they ſtood in need, than of that of ſpeedily covering thoſe lands with cultivators; and thinking, beſides, that great proprietors would be excited by their intereſt to parcel them out with more promptitude than a ſtate could do, readily conſented to ſell them in large maſſes, in oppoſition to the law which, in many of the ſtates, limited the number of acres that would be ſold to any one perſon to five or ſix hundred.

This regulation has been evaded in the ſtates in which it exiſted, by ſelling great quantities of land to the ſame perſons under different names, and by making out as many contracts of ſale, under theſe fictitious names, as the quantity of land ſold contained lots of the extent ſpecified in the law.

Almoſt all theſe contracts of ſale alſo contained a clauſe, by which the purchaſer was required to cultivate, or cauſe to be cultivated, a certain quantity of acres per lot, within a given time; and the penalty of diſpoſſeſſion was pronounced againſt any one who ſhould neglect to fulfil this condition. It is eaſy to conceive that this condition,

dition, ſo difficult to comply with in great bargains, has been frequently evaded.

It was then that the great ſpeculations began, land being purchaſable of all the ſtates at a very low price. The ſtates were inundated with paper-money, peculiar to each, and all in a ſtate of depreciation. The periods of payment occurred at diſtant intervals. The increaſe of population, emigration, and the clearing of the land, promiſed a great and ſpeedy riſe in the value of theſe lands. The ſpirit of ſpeculation then laid hold of every claſs of the inhabitants of America. This was at the time of the new ſyſtem of finance, when ſo many conſiderable fortunes were made by jobbing in the certificates of the American debt. The legiſlatures of the ſtates, ſome of them at leaſt, gave ſtill greater encouragement to the ſale of their lands, by ordering that certain kinds of the depreciated paper ſhould be taken in payment of the purchaſe; a regulation which gave riſe to conſiderable malverſations. The members who compoſed theſe legiſlatures, were often ſeen to conſult their private intereſts in theſe operations of finance.

At that time, as I have juſt ſaid, the ſtates were inundated with paper money of different kinds, the fruit of the misfortunes of the war, and of the diſtreſs which had been its conſequence. They

were all of them at a diſcount. One day, for inſtance, the legiſlature declared, that after a certain delay, generally very ſhort, ſuch paper would not be received in payment; and ſome time after, a little before the expiration of that delay, it announced the ſale of a certain quantity of land, in payment of which the proſcribed paper would have a right to be preſented. The members who were in the ſecret of this manœuvre, or their friends, bought up this paper-money at the time of its proſcription, that is to ſay, at its loweſt price. They then preſented themſelves at the ſale as ſoon as it began, and very often in twenty-four hours the purchaſe was completed.

By theſe means many ſpeculators acquired land, with a real value of two or three *cents* or dollars per acre, payable in ſix or eight years, with a diſcount from the treaſury of the ſtate, according to the value at which the land was rated by the law, in caſe the payments were made before they became due.

Theſe malverſations did not take place in all the ſtates; but in all, the purchaſe of land, and of rights of pre-emptions, was made at a very low price, from the very firſt moments of the opening of the land-offices.

Theſe lands then became an article of trade. Agents were ſent to Europe to propoſe the ſale of

of them; and Europe was filled with the moſt pompous deſcriptions and the moſt complete maps of lands which were often unknown to their proprietor, and even to every one elſe.

Several great ſales, effected in England, upon advantageous terms, raiſed the price of theſe lands, increaſed the confidence of the ſpeculators, added to their numbers, and extended their ſpeculations. The opinion of an immenſe migration, to which the French revolution, and the ſituation of Europe, gave riſe, conſpired to give confidence to theſe ſpeculators; and every one engaged the more eagerly in this kind of ſpeculation, as the periods of the payments to be made to the ſtates were always long; as ſtill longer delays were obtained without much difficulty; and as the lands in queſtion were as yet exempt from all taxes.

The ſecond ſellers frequently granted very advantageous conditions of payment, and yet ſold at a tolerably low price. In the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and in that of Maryland, every foreigner could buy and poſſeſs land as well as a citizen.

In ſome others, in which the law did not allow this privilege to foreigners, it gave the legiſlature the right of permitting it; and that permiſſion was eaſily obtained.

In all, a foreigner might hold land in the name

of an inhabitant; and the great intereſt that the ſtates had in ſelling, and in bringing foreign capitals into their territory, gave great ſecurity to this borrowed right of poſſeſſion.

The United States were in the enjoyment of great commercial proſperity. Nothing ſeemed likely to diſturb their tranquillity: and a great number of Europeans, ſeduced by the ſudden increaſe of the value of American lands, ſaw, in the ſacrifice which they made of a few thouſand dollars in the purchaſe of thoſe lands, a four-fold or ten-fold augmentation of their capitals in a very ſmall number of years.

The ſpeculators in land who hold a great quantity, have different means of turning them to account.

1. By ſelling them in large parcels to men of fortune in Europe, or America.

2. By ſelling them in ſmall parcels to families, who mean to ſettle upon them.

3. By preſerving them, till time, and a diminution of the quantity of this ſort of merchandize, have raiſed the value of it to a price anſwerable to their expectations.

The firſt of theſe means is that which is moſt generally deſired: it is that on account of which ſo many agents were ſent to Europe; ſuch great advantages held out to thoſe who ſhould procure

purchaſers;

purchaſers; and ſo many fictions invented. A great quantity of land was ſold in this manner. In making bargains of this kind, as well as in all others, the buyer and ſeller endeavoured to make the moſt advantageous conditions. The periods of payment are generally ſhort; at leaſt a large part of the purchaſe-money is paid down at the concluſion of the bargain. The conditions impoſed by the ſtates in the contracts of ſale are binding upon the new purchaſer; but very often the old purchaſer remains reſponſible, in caſe of their not being fulfilled by the new one. The new purchaſers become ſpeculators themſelves; and in order to turn their new property to account, have recourſe to the ſame means that were employed by thoſe of whom they bought it.

Land is ſold in ſmall parcels in ſeveral ways.

Either out and out for ready money; although this mode of ſale is not unfrequent, it is not the moſt common.

Or out and out, but to be paid for by inſtalments; in which caſe the latter does not deliver the title-deeds till after the purchaſe-money is entirely paid; and retains a right of ejecting the new ſettler from his land, if the conditions of payment, and all others appertaining to the bargain, (which generally conſiſts of an obligation

to clear a certain number of acres) be not fulfilled. Sometimes the ſeller only requires a ſmall part of the price of the land in ready money; and the land remains ſubject to a perpetual rent, payable in money or in produce, which the purchaſer is not always at liberty to redeem.

Sometimes he ſells, or rather he alienates, only for a certain number of years—for inſtance, twelve or fifteen; and in moſt of theſe bargains the purchaſer binds himſelf to perform a certain number of days' work in perſon, at the requeſt of the ſeller; to clear annually a certain number of acres, or to build houſes; and all theſe improvements revert to the ſeller, when the term of years for which the bargain was made is expired. I ſhall here remark, by the way, that this kind of ſale for a limited time, or for an annual rent, may give great proprietors an influence in the elections of the legiſlature, in a country as yet not very rich, and where every body is an elector. It is accordingly acknowledged that it does give ſuch influence, and it is known that ſuch or ſuch a perſon can diſpoſe of ſo many ſeats in the legiſlature of his ſtate.

As yet, however, theſe examples are not frequent. Almoſt all the great landed proprietors endeavour to get ſome purchaſers of ſmall lots to ſettle

ſettle upon their eſtates; becauſe, by clearing ſome portions of it they enhance the value of the reſt.

The third mean, that of waiting till time has raiſed the price of land, is the reſource of great proprietors, who have not been able to employ the two others. With ſome, however, it is a mere calculation; a calculation ſo much the more dangerous, as the ambition of the proprietor increaſes with the riſe in the price, in caſe ſuch a riſe take place; and as that riſe is far from being certain, and as there is already a number of examples of proprietors who, in the following year, would have been glad to ſell at the price that they had refuſed the year before. They are, however, not the more inclined to take the price that is then offered them, becauſe it is lower; they rather wiſh to wait for the price which they have refuſed. This is the way in which every kind of ſpeculation is in general conducted. A great profit does not ſuffice, when we flatter ourſelves that we ſhall obtain a greater ſtill. We are but too apt to flatter ourſelves; and it ſometimes happens that at laſt we obtain nothing at all.

Speculations in land have been the means of making great fortunes in America; but they have alſo occaſioned more diſtreſs, total ruin, and great and diſaſtrous bankruptcies, than any other kind.

kind. Of this there are ſome remarkable examples, among an infinite number of others of leſs note, but not leſs certain. For prudence has no more been the guide of theſe ſpeculators than of others; nor are there any which have been more generally adopted, nor which have been a greater ſource of deception. The lands in America are alſo the branch of trade which has given occaſion to the greateſt number of law-ſuits; as well on account of the titles as of the limits, and of the fulfilment of the conditions of ſale.

The moſt certain, as well as the moſt advantageous means of deriving profit from a great extent of new land in America, is, for the purchaſer to begin clearing it of himſelf; to attract inhabitants as ſpeedily as poſſible, by giving them, at a low rate, and even for nothing, if neceſſary, a number of acres ſufficient for the maintenance of their family; to erect mills, make bridges and roads; to build houſes even; and to encourage, in every way, the efforts of the new ſettlers; in ſhort, to make conſiderable ſacrifices in the firſt inſtance.

There is no example of theſe firſt ſacrifices, when made with intelligence, and to a ſuitable extent, not having rapidly increaſed the value of the land reſerved by the proprietor, and ſpeedily enriched him, by attracting great numbers of emigrants

emigrants from other countries. Many of theſe brilliant ſucceſſes may be quoted; and among them that of the Dutch company, which is ſkilfully directed by a Mr. CASENORE; but no one's ſucceſs has been more complete than that of Captain Williamſon in the Geneſſee.

This honourable and ſafe manner of deriving advantage from the poſſeſſion of a great quantity of new land, requires indeed a command of money; and there are very few ſpeculators in land who have any. Thoſe who have, are not inclined to withdraw it from the buſineſs of ſtock-jobbing, from which they get a return three or four times a year, with great profits; but more commonly they have none. Very often, indeed, theſe ſpeculations are carried on without the ſmalleſt capital; or elſe by merchants, ſhopkeepers, and workmen, who have occaſion for their money in trade; for, as I ſaid before, every body deals in land.

Theſe means are, however, becoming more neceſſary than they have been hitherto. The buying of land is no longer ſo much the faſhion; and the commodity abounds the more in the market, in proportion as commercial operations are leſs ſucceſsful, and as private fortunes are decayed. The numerous deceptions which the Europeans have experienced in the purchaſe of American

American lands, have brought them into great diſcredit in Europe. France advances much more rapidly than was ſuppoſed to be poſſible, towards a ſtate of complete tranquillity, which muſt make it once more a comfortable abode. The derangement of many French fortunes by means of the revolution, will bring a great number of eſtates to ſale. Commerce and the manufactures will alſo afford great and advantageous room for foreign capitals. It will be the ſame ſucceſſively, with the other European States, if they are doomed to experience the miſchiefs of a revolution; and if ſome European capitaliſts ſhould think that a part of their fortune would be laid out with more ſafety beyond the Atlantic than elſewhere, they would probably prefer the veſting of it in the American funds to the purchaſe of diſtant lands. For every one in Europe muſt now be aware, that no man ſhould now buy land in America till it has been inſpected by himſelf, or by ſome of his particular friends.

The quantity of land upon ſale in the United States is immenſe. Tranquillity is not ſo completely eſtabliſhed there as it appeared to be two years ago. It is threatened on more ſides than one. The ſpirit of democracy has made as great and as rapid progreſs in the country, as the ſpirit of ariſtocracy has in the towns. Although the

proportion

proportion of proprietors is incomparably greater there than in any part of Europe, there exiſts a certain number of non-proprietors; and every body thinks he has a right to have an eſtate. The murmurs againſt the poſſeſſors of a great number of acres of land, which they keep in their own hands, till they think they can get a ſufficient price, and thus put the purchaſe of it beyond the reach of theſe non-proprietors, begin to be ſomewhat violent; for every body knows the low price which theſe poſſeſſors of great maſſes of land originally paid for them. Many families ſettle without title or permiſſion upon theſe large properties, and their number ſometimes renders it very difficult to eject them. The judgments of the tribunals which orders them off the land, cannot often be put in execution, becauſe public opinion begins to be very ſtrong againſt the holding of ſuch large tracts of land, which is already called a monopoly. I could quote ſeveral examples of this; but it is not my purpoſe here to enter into particulars. Although many members of the legiſlature are themſelves great landholders, the legiſlatures can no longer prolong the periods of payment, and alter the conditions of ſale. In many ſtates, the uncultivated land begins to be already ſubject to taxes; as yet indeed they are taxed very low; but the

the time approaches when thoſe taxes will increaſe, and when the legiſlatures, perceiving that it is the intereſt of their ſtate to attract thither a greater population, will find, perhaps, that it is good policy to raiſe the taxes even higher than that of the cultivated land, till a certain proportion of their extent at leaſt is cleared, in order to render the poſſeſſion of theſe lands burthenſome to thoſe who keep too great a quantity in their hands, and thus to make it their own intereſt ſpeedily to parcel them out. All theſe circumſtances render it more neceſſary than ever for the great holders of land to take the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to account, and muſt conſequently tend to diſcourage this kind of ſpeculation.

This ſtate of things is, no doubt, an unfortunate one for the ſpeculators in land, and for thoſe who poſſeſs great maſſes of it. Hence probably many of them will find themſelves deceived in their calculations, and many of their fortunes will be deranged. But this is nothing in compariſon with the national proſperity that will reſult from the clearing and occupying of the uncultivated and deſert lands, whether the ſettlers have bought them of the proprietors, or whether they have uſurped the poſſeſſion of them.

The land in America is in general good, and only

only requires to be tilled to afford an ample produce. The population increaſes, as has already been ſeen, in an almoſt incredible proportion; and the people in America are not deterred from the clearing of waſte land, either by attachment to their natal ſoil, by the greatneſs of the diſtance, or, in ſhort, by any difficulty whatever. The federal government of the United States, or, more properly ſpeaking, the Union, poſſeſſes alſo in the Weſtern Territory, north of the Ohio, a quantity of land which is ſuppoſed to amount to ten or twelve millions of acres. The congreſs, in May 1796, ordered theſe lands to be ſurveyed, and divided into townſhips of ſix miles ſquare each. One half of theſe townſhips are to be alternately divided into ſections, containing each about ſix hundred and forty acres; and then the whole is to be ſold by townſhips or by ſections. This ſale is to be ſuperintended by the governor and ſecretary of the Weſtern Territory.

Seven rows of townſhips at a little diſtance from Pittſburgh, in the ſame territory, had been ſurveyed by order of the old congreſs, which had alſo ordered the ſale of them; but it had only been effected in part. The congreſs, by the ſame law of 1796, ordered this land alſo to be ſold, under the direction of the ſecretary of the treaſury, who fixed the loweſt price at two dollars

per

per acre. It was to be ſold by auction; a depoſit of fifty per cent was to be made within thirty days after the purchaſe, and the other fifty a year after, under the penalty of diſpoſſeſſion, in regard to ſuch purchaſers as did not fulfil theſe conditions. In requiring ſo ſpeedy a payment for theſe lands, and in keeping them at ſo high a price, the intentions of the congreſs were to render great ſpeculations more difficult. But, by a report the ſecretary of the treaſury made at the end of laſt January, it appears that this condition, and the price fixed by the congreſs, kept away a great many purchaſers, ſince no more than forty-nine thouſand acres, out of about ſix hundred and eighty thouſand, had been ſold, and the ſeven rows of townſhips, with the ſale of which he was charged. The congreſs, however, made no change in the law of the preceding year, except by allowing ſtock to be taken in payment of theſe lands at its current value at the time of the purchaſe. But it did not diminiſh the fixed price, nor enlarge the time of payment; and it acted wiſely. The fineneſs of the country, the goodneſs of the land, the mildneſs of the climate, and the facility of communication, leave no doubt but that they will be ſettled in no great ſpace of time. The natural emigration from the northern ſtates, which are the moſt populous of all, conſtantly

ſtantly take a weſtern direction. It is impoſſible to aſcertain what is the annual number of emigrants who paſs the Alleghany Mountains; in ſome years it had amounted to thirty thouſand ſouls; and I have heard it eſtimated at an average at fifteen thouſand a year, but without any certain *data* being aſſigned. However this may be, it is conſiderable, and will become much more ſo, in proportion to the increaſing population of the United States.

The greater number of theſe emigrants have hitherto directed their ſteps to Kentucky, and to the Tenneſſee country; but ſome always remain in Pennſylvania, and a great many already proceed to the Weſtern Territory, where the land will increaſe, in proportion as the Indians are obliged, by the approach of the whites, to abandon the territory which they ſtill occupy, and which the United States will not fail to purchaſe.

It is poſſible, and even probable, that the congreſs will be obliged to give the purchaſers of theſe lands more time for payment. It will be a reſource of great importance for the diminution of the national debt, to which it is irrevocably deſtined; and perhaps at a period not very diſtant, the Weſtern Territory will be the moſt populous, the beſt cultivated, and one of the moſt important ſtates of the Union.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The conſtitution which gives the preſident of the United States the chief command of the forces by land and ſea, as well as of the militia of the different ſtates, when employed in the ſervice of the confederacy, reſerves to the congreſs the power of making laws for the adminiſtration and diſcipline of the forces by land and ſea; that of employing the neceſſary means for the embodying of the militia; for the purpoſe of putting in execution the laws of the Union; repreſſing inſurrections, and repelling incurſions; has alſo the power of regulating the organization, arming, and diſcipline of the militia, and the conduct of ſuch part of the militia as is employed in the ſervice of the United States, leaving to each of the ſtates the appointment of officers, and the training of this militia, in conformity to the rules of diſcipline preſcribed by the congreſs.

A law of the 13th of May 1796 has fixed the military eſtabliſhment of the United States, and revoked all thoſe previouſly made upon that ſubject.

It is compoſed of a body of artillery and engineers, of two companies of light dragoons, who are to ſerve on foot or on horſeback, according to the

the will of the preſident, and of four regiments of infantry.

The corps of artillery and of engineers, conſiſting of ſeven hundred and ſixty-four men, is divided into four battalions, and each battalion into four companies. Each company is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and two cadets; each battalion by a major; and the whole corps by a lieutenant-colonel, who has an adjutant-general under him.

Each company of dragoons is compoſed of fifty-two privates, eleven ſerjeants, corporals, ſaddlers, farriers, and trumpeters; and is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and a cornet.

The ſtaff of each regiment of infantry is compoſed of a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, an adjutant, a pay-maſter, a quarter-maſter, a ſurgeon, and two aſſiſtant-ſurgeons.

Each company is commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, and an enſign, and is compoſed of ſixty-two ſerjeants, corporals, ſoldiers, and muſicians.

The army conſequently conſiſts of two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four ſerjeants, muſicians, ſoldiers, dragoons, and artillery-men.

According to the above law, the ſtaff of the army was compoſed of a major-general, with two *aides-de-camp*, a brigadier-general, and a major

of brigade; but this part of the law was repealed on the 3d of May 1797, and the ſtaff is reduced to a brigadier-general, a major of brigade, and an inſpector, both choſen by the brigadier-general from among the captains, and other officers of the army; a judge-advocate; a quarter-maſter, and a paymaſter-general; which laſt, as well as the aids-de-camp, is choſen by the brigadier-general from among the officers of the army.

The pay of the army conſiſts of money and proviſions.

The brigadier-general receives a hundred and four dollars per month, and twelve rations a day.

The brigade-major, the inſpector, the judge-advocate, the quarter-maſter, the treaſurer, and the aids-de-camp, twenty-four dollars and four rations, beſides their pay as officers in the line.

The lieutenant-colonels commandant, ſixty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of artillery, fifty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of infantry, fifty dollars and five rations.

The captains, forty dollars and three rations.

The lieutenants, thirty dollars; the enſigns and cornets, twenty-five dollars; and each three rations.

The

The ſurgeons, forty-five dollars and three rations.

The aſſiſtant ſurgeons, thirty dollars and two rations.

The paymaſters, quartermaſters, and adjutants of regiments, who may alſo be taken from among the officers of the line, receive, independently of their pay as officers of the line, ten dollars a month.

The brigadier-general, when he is commander in chief, and all the officers detached on particular commands, receive double the rations which are allowed for their rank when they are not in command.

The ſerjeant-major, and the quartermaſter-ſerjeant, receive eight dollars per month.

The maſter of the band, and the other ſerjeants, ſeven dollars.

The corporals, ſix.

The muſicians, five.

The privates, four.

The workmen attached to the regiment, nine

The nurſes to the hoſpital, eight.

All receive only one ration.

The ration conſiſts of a pound of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, a pound of bread or flour, half a gill of rum, brandy, or whiſky; and of a quarter of a pound of ſalt, a

quart of vinegar, two pounds of ſoap, and a pound of candles, to be divided between every hundred rations.

The rations are either furniſhed in kind, or paid in money, according to the common price of the articles in the country where the troops are quartered.

Forage is alſo paid in money to thoſe officers who are entitled to it by law; but at a fixed price, which is ſixteen dollars per month for the brigadier-general; twelve for the quartermaſter, inſpector, treaſurer, and lieutenant-colonels; ten for the majors and aides-de-camp; eight for the captains of dragoons; ſix for the lieutenants and cornets; ten for the ſurgeon; ſix for the aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, adjutants, and quartermaſter of the regiment.

The ſerjeants, corporals, muſicians, and privates, are, independently of their pay and of the ration, each to be furniſhed annually with a hat, a waiſtcoat, four pair of pantaloons (two of woollen, two of linen), four pair of ſhoes, four ſhirts, four pair of half ſtockings, a blanket, a ſtock with a claſp, and a pair of ſhoe-buckles.

They are enliſted for five years, and they receive a bounty of ſixteen dollars, four of which only are paid them till they join the regiment.

Officers

Officers employed on the recruiting ſervice receive two dollars for every man they enliſt.

Deſerters are puniſhed by a fine of twenty dollars, and condemned to ſerve a new and complete term of enliſtment from the day of their ſentence. Perſons who either conceal or aſſiſt them in deſerting, are puniſhable by a fine of thirty dollars, and brought to trial before the common courts of juſtice.

The military are tried by courts-martial, the ſentence of which muſt be approved by the preſident of the United States. Every officer or ſoldier, on entering into the ſervice, takes and ſigns the oath of allegiance to the United States, and of obedience to the preſident, and to his officers, according to the rules and diſcipline of war.

The law, having for its object to eſtabliſh an uniform militia throughout the whole extent of the United States, was enacted in the month of May 1792. It declared every male and free inhabitant of the United States, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, liable to ſerve; excepting all public officers; all perſons employed in the ſervice of the poſt-office, and in that of the ferries acroſs the rivers; ſeamen in active ſervice, and all thoſe who may be exempted by the laws of particular ſtates.

The ſame law directs the militia to be formed into diviſions, brigades, regiments, and companies. It regulates the number of officers in each of theſe diviſions; preſcribes the formation of a company of grenadiers *per* battalion, and of one of artillery and another of cavalry *per* diviſion. Theſe two companies are to be compoſed of volunteers, clothed and mounted at their own expence. Each militia-man muſt alſo be armed at his own coſt.

An adjutant-general for every county muſt keep a roll of this militia, and of the ſtate of its equipment.

An inſpector for every brigade is charged with the diſcipline of the militia at the time it is embodied; but the whole is ſubordinate to the governor of the ſtate.

A law, of January 1795, fixes the pay of the militia called out for the ſervice of the ſtate. It includes the expence of cloathing, with which the militia-men are ſuppoſed to have provided themſelves. A ſerjeant-major has nine dollars a month; a corporal, muſician, or drummer, eight dollars thirty-three *cents*; a workman, eight dollars; and a private, ſix dollars ſixty-ſix *cents*. The officers, ſerjeants, and privates of the cavalry, receive forty cents per day for the remount of their horſe, and twenty-five cents for its keep.

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The rations of the militia are the ſame as thoſe of the troops of the line. The officers of the militia receive the ſame quantity, and have alſo the ſame pay as officers in the line.

Another law, of the 28th of February of the ſame year, authoriſes the preſident of the United States, in caſe of a threatened invaſion on the part of any foreign power, or of the Indians; or in caſe of an inſurrection in the territory of the United States, or of a concerted diſobedience to the laws of the Union, to call out the militia of one or more ſtates, in ſuch proportion and number as he ſhall think proper. In the firſt of theſe caſes, the preſident ſends his orders directly to the ſuperior officers or individuals commanding the militia corps that he wiſhes to march. In the others, he muſt addreſs himſelf to the legiſlature of the ſtates, if they are aſſembled; or, if not, to their executive power.

The militia called out into actual ſervice on account of the United States, are ſubject to the ſame regulations as the army; but no individual can be compelled to ſerve longer than three months from the day on which he preſented himſelf at the place of aſſembly.

Courts-martial to try officers or ſoldiers of the militia muſt be compoſed of their own officers. Among the offences of which a militia-man may

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be guilty, is diſobedience to the orders of the preſident, which is puniſhed by a fine, not exceeding a year of the delinquent's pay, nor leſs than a month's. Confinement is the puniſhment of non-payment of fines, which are the only penalties of breaches of diſcipline.

Although all the militia are bound by the law to provide themſelves with arms at their own expence, and though they are ſubject to a fine if they do not, the greater number is generally unprovided when the militia is to be aſſembled, and particularly when called out ſuddenly upon actual ſervice. The different ſtates, therefore, are now taking meaſures to have arms in ſtore for ſuch men as want them at the moment when the ſtate has occaſion for their ſervices. But in ſome ſtates they have hardly begun to procure a ſupply; in all they are tardy in doing ſo; and in none is the number complete. The Union has alſo arſenals to ſupply the deficiency of thoſe of the ſtates, when the militia is called out upon its ſervice. Theſe arſenals ought to contain one hundred thouſand ſtands of arms, but do not contain fifteen thouſand fit for ſervice. Every year new ones are purchaſed; but every time alſo that theſe arms are given to the militia-men, who ought to return them as ſoon as the time of their ſervice is expired, as well as the reſt of their accoutrements,

ments, under penalty of a fine equal to the value of their arms, or of ſuch part of them as may have been loſt, not a third of them is brought back to the arſenal.

The fortifications are another branch of the war department; that is to ſay, thoſe erected by the Union; but it never erects any, except in places where the land is entirely given up to it by the ſtate to which it belongs. Many of the ſtates, as has already been ſeen, are averſe to this ceſſion; and in that caſe, if they wiſh for fortifications, they can only have them at their own expence. Thoſe which the Union erects and keeps up are few, and almoſt all incomplete. Good engineers being ſcarce, the Americans are obliged to employ ſuch as they can get, who are generally foreigners who do not half underſtand their buſineſs, and who are generally more attentive to their own intereſt than that of the United States. Great plans are drawn; the works are begun at great expence; there is a want of money the following year; and the fortifications are either entirely relinquiſhed, or reduced to ſo ſmall a ſcale, that they are either good for nothing or at leaſt defective, ſo that the money ſpent the preceding year may be ſaid to be thrown away.

Portland,

Portland, in the province of Main; Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire; Glouceſter, Salem, Marblehead, in the Maſſachuſets; Newport, in Rhode Iſland; New York, in the ſtate of New York; Mud-Iſland, near Philadelphia; Baltimore, in Maryland; Norfolk, in Virginia; Octecock and Wilmington, in North Carolina; George-town, in South Carolina; Savannah and St. Mary, in Georgia, are the only places to be found in the liſt of the fortifications of the United States; and he who has ſeen them all with his own eyes, knows that very few of them are to remain there.

Governor's Iſland, near New York; Sullivan's Iſland, near Charleſton; and Caſtle Iſland, near Boſton, were to have been fortified by the Union; but the ſtates to which they belong refuſe to give up the ſovereignty of the land; whence it happens that places which it is of ſo much conſequence to fortify, are not fortified, or at leaſt very incompletely. This is attended with danger, not only to the ſtate which refuſes the ceſſion of its land, but alſo to the Union in general, ſince the entrance of a principal point not being completely defended, its territory is laid open; and ſince it is evident that there are no ſure means of defending a country, except thoſe which

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are the reſult of a whole ſyſtem, calculated to embrace its totality as well as its ſeparate parts; now no ſuch a ſyſtem exiſts in the United States.

The navy is alſo with them a branch of the war department. This navy has as yet no exiſtence. In 1794, the commerce of the United States being attacked by the Algerines, the congreſs paſſed a law, authorizing the preſident to purchaſe or cauſe to be built, four frigates of forty-four guns, and two of thirty-ſix. It regulated the number of officers, ſailors and ſoldiers, with which theſe frigates were to be manned, and the pay of their crews. That of the ſailors, ſays the law, is not to exceed twenty-ſeven dollars a month, independently of their allowance, and this high pay was neceſſary on account of the ſtill higher wages given at that time to ſailors employed in the merchant ſervice. The congreſs granted the preſident ſix hundred and eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars for the expences of the conſtruction or purchaſe of theſe ſhips. The ſame law enacted, that if the United States made peace with the Algerines, the armament was to inſtantly ceaſe.

In 1796, peace being made with this piratical power, another law of the congreſs authorized the preſident to complete the conſtruction only of two frigates of forty-four guns, and of one of thirty-

thirty-ſix, directing that the materials in ſtore which had been deſtined for the conſtruction of the three others, ſhould be preſerved, if it could be done without fear of their decaying, or otherwiſe, that they ſhould be ſold.

It applied to the completion of theſe three frigates, part of the ſix hundred and eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars voted for the conſtruction of the ſix, and which had not yet been expended, and eighty thouſand dollars more, alſo voted in 1796, at the time when America was apprehenſive of war with England, in order to purchaſe and equip ten ſmall veſſels, for the defence of the coaſts of the United States.

In the laſt ſeſſion but one, and at the beginning of 1797, the congreſs again granted for this ſame ſervice one hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand dollars, and ten thouſand dollars more for the pay of the captains.

In the laſt ſeſſion, in May 1797, one hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix dollars were demanded, and granted, in order to complete this armament.

According to the eſtimate of the ſecretary at war, the value of the materials preſerved of the frigates that had been begun, and countermanded, as well as of thoſe in ſtore, amounted to one hundred

dred and thirty-five thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-four dollars; which makes the total expence of the conſtruction and equipment of theſe three frigates one million twelve thouſand ſix hundred and fifty dollars, or eight thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix dollars *per* gun.

This enormous price is owing:

To the neceſſity of going as far as Georgia to fell the timber, for which purpoſe the government thought it adviſable to ſend carpenters from the northern ſtates.

To the tardineſs with which ſupplies of it were provided, inſomuch that the frigates being laid down, materials were wanting to go on with them. They were expected from day to day, and it was often neceſſary to pay the ſhipwrights for whole months, without their having any work; for it would have been difficult to procure others, had theſe been diſmiſſed.

And above all, to the want of economy in the uſe of the materials, to the want of ſuperintendance and foreſight, which every where prevails in the expences of the war department of the United States; for it is evident, that with more care and regularity, and better management, the frigates might have been built at more than a third leſs expence. The pay, the victualling and annual repairs of theſe three frigates are eſtimated at three

three hundred and fifty thouſand dollars. It muſt be confeſſed that it is a very expenſive piece of parade. For what kind of a navy of the Union of ſixteen ſtates is that which is compoſed of only three frigates?

In this enormous expence, of upwards of a million of dollars, for the conſtruction of theſe three frigates, the expence occaſioned by that which the United States give to the Dey of Algiers, by a ſecret article of the treaty, is not included. She will coſt about a hundred thouſand dollars, being only of thirty-two guns, not being built of cedar and live oak like the other three, and being better attended to during her conſtruction.

The department of the Indians is alſo one of the branches of the war department. It is with the ſecretary at war, that the agents employed among the Indians correſpond, and it is by him that are tranſmitted the aid granted them, by virtue of a treaty with the United States, or the preſents made them by the Union. Theſe expences, annually amount to a hundred thouſand dollars.

The expences of the war department are defrayed by ſums which the congreſs votes every year for that purpoſe, according to the eſtimate that is preſented to them by the ſecretary of the treaſury

treaſury, who himſelf receives it from the ſecretary at war.

Sometimes the grant of money for the expences of the war department, is made by a particular aid; ſometimes it is included in the ſame act which grants all the ſums deemed neceſſary for the total expence of the government. But the ſums appropriated to the war department are always diſtinctly ſpecified for each article of which they are compoſed; the pay of the troops, proviſions, forage, clothing, equipment of the cavalry, purchaſe of horſes, hoſpitals, artillery, expence of offices, Indians, expence of the frontiers, ſalaries, military penſions, ſupply of magazines, purchaſe of ammunition, naval armaments, &c. &c.

The ſums deſtined to this department were, in 1789, one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand dollars; in 1790, one hundred and ninety-four thouſand one hundred and forty-four; in 1791, ſix hundred and fifteen thouſand four hundred and twenty-one; in 1792, one million one hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix; in 1793, one million one hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five; in 1794, two million three hundred and ſixty-two thouſand one hundred and three; in 1795, two million ſix hundred and thirty-five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty; in 1796, one

million four hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand one hundred; and in 1797, one million five hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and thirty-two dollars.

The great increaſe of the war expences for the years 1794 and 1795, reſulted from the Pittſburg expedition, of which I ſhall ſay a few words, and which coſt near twelve hundred thouſand dollars.

In this application of fifteen hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and thirty-one dollars to the expences of the war department, in 1797, upwards of a million were deſtined for the real and effective expences of the army, that is to ſay, pay, proviſions, forage, purchaſe of horſes, and hoſpitals. The fortifications are eſtimated at only twenty-four thouſand dollars, and yet the army is compoſed of only two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four men. There are no corps of militia to be ſupported; for the ſums voted in the laſt May ſeſſion, in conſequence of the fears that were entertained of a war, are not comprehended in this eſtimate; nor even the ſalaries of the ſecretary at war, and of his clerks, which are always included among the expences of the civil liſt.

The known probity of thoſe who have been placed at the head of this department, renders all

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ſuſpicion of their infidelity impoſſible; and beſides, the manner in which the diſburſements are made, the formalities obſerved in the iſſue of the public money, which can only be drawn for by bills expreſſive of the caſe to which it is to be applied, preclude all means of malverſation, at leaſt to any conſiderable amount But upon comparing the exceſſive expences of the war department with the weakneſs of the army, the bad ſtate of the fortifications, and the ſmall reſult of theſe great diſburſements, we cannot be aſtoniſhed at often hearing a great want of intelligence and order imputed to the war department.

In congreſs the ſecretaries of war have often been reproached with conſidering the ſums allotted to their department as a total of which they might diſpoſe for the different articles of expenditure, without limiting the expences of each of them to the ſums ſpecially voted for that purpoſe; with expending, for inſtance, more or leſs for the fortifications than the ſum particularly deſtined for their erection or repair; with applying to the hoſpitals, clothing, victualling, or any other article of this department, the ſurplus ariſing from the ſavings made in the fortifications, or with retrenching from thoſe different articles the ſums applied to the fortifications beyond thoſe preſcribed by the law.

This reproach was particularly made with reſpect to the expences of the Pittſburg expedition, for which the ſecretary at war furniſhed the ſums granted by congreſs for the particular expences of his department, without being able to do ſo, otherwiſe than by ſuſpending the different payments to which the ſums voted were meant to be applied.

It ſeems that this reproach, though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not unfounded, is nevertheleſs unjuſt. If the expedition to Pittſburg were neceſſary, if it were indiſpenſable to conduct it with celerity, and to carry it to ſo great an extent, and if there were a real danger in ſuſpending it, the ſums devoted to it were conſequently the moſt urgent part of the expenditure of the United States, ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of public order depended upon that expedition. Every delay would then have been a great evil; and there was at that time no other means of finding money for it, either legal or even poſſible. Beſides, the ſecretary at war and the preſident remained reſponſible, in caſe the meaſures they deemed indiſpenſable were diſapproved by the congreſs.

Here I am naturally led to ſpeak of this expedition, concerning which opinions were, and continue to be, much divided. It was at an end before I arrived in America, and my travels never carried

carried me into that part of Pennſylvania where the inſurrection took place. I can then have no other information than that which is to be obtained by converſing with the two parties, and reading every thing that has been printed upon the ſubject.

Nobody can doubt that there was then in the counties of Weſtmoreland, La Fayette, Waſhington, and of the Alleghanies, a formal oppoſition to the collection of the tax upon diſtilleries; an oppoſition which was of ancient date, and ſupported by force of arms; a combination and conſpiracy to prevent the payment of that exciſe duty; a known reſolution to employ force againſt all thoſe who ſhould either demand that tax, or even ſubmit to pay it; every thing, in ſhort, which characterizes an inſurrection. It has been ſaid that Mr. Hamilton, then ſecretary of the treaſury, might have prevented this inſurrection without prejudice to the revenue, by not keeping in place, contrary to the will of the country, exciſe officers, whoſe characters, harſhneſs, and conduct were reprehenſible; and by inſtituting in the early ſtage of the buſineſs a legal proſecution againſt the oppoſers of the collection of the tax. His enemies attribute this fault to his deſire of provoking a reſiſtance ſo ſtrong, that its repreſſion might give more force to this impoſt, of

which he was the promoter, which congreſs had conſented to with great reluctance, and which was generally diſliked: they even aſcribed to him the intention of gratifying his particular hatred againſt ſome of his perſonal enemies.

Knowing the diſpoſition of Mr. Hamilton, as I think I know it, I cannot admit the poſſibility of ſuch a reproach; but even were it founded it would not have been a ſufficient reaſon againſt the expedition at the moment it was ordered, when the inſurrection was unequivocal, extenſive, and might become formidable. It is only its neceſſity, or its inutility, at that time, that is in queſtion here.

A few years before, an inſurrection, which was alſo cauſed by the non-payment of taxes, had taken place in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts.

It was important to put a ſtop to this ſpirit of reſiſtance, fatal to the public treaſury, ſtill more fatal to the conſtitution, and for all the bleſſings which, in a well regulated government, reſult from the exact obſervation of the laws. It was therefore neceſſary to act againſt this inſurrection, and to act with means ſufficient to inſure its repreſſion, and to act ſpeedily; for the courſe of juſtice began to be ſuſpended in theſe cantons; the heat of men's minds was daily increaſing; the number of the inſurgents was augmenting,

and

and the commiſſioners ſent to them by the preſident had returned without producing the deſired effect; and yet they were men highly eſteemed.

If the diſorder had not then been ſtifled at its birth, it was not improbable that it would have found imitators in other parts of the United States; and that the Pittſburg inſurrection itſelf would have grown more formidable, and have been in the end the germ of ſerious inteſtine diſſentions, which might, perhaps, have occaſioned a great effuſion of blood before they could have been terminated.

To what degree did Mr. Hamilton, for every body concurs in opinion that he directed this operation, to what degree, I ſay, did he proportion the means to the neceſſity? This is a point upon which I will not undertake to decide, for the neceſſity was in this caſe a compound of different elements.

In the firſt place it was neceſſary to quiet the inſurrection, it was alſo neceſſary to intereſt the public opinion in the annihilation of this diſorder, and by that means to prevent its future reproduction. That important object could not be better attained than by the calling out of the militia of the different ſtates. To employ the different militia of the counties of Pennſylvania

adjacent to the ſcene of inſurrection, even had they all been unanimouſly diſpoſed to ſerve in this cauſe, a thing of which doubts might reaſonably have been entertained; to employ them alone would have been to riſk the ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord and of hatred in this ſtate; this danger was averted by calling out upon this ſervice the militia of the other ſtates.

It was beſides a favourable opportunity of trying that part of the conſtitution, which authorizes the preſident of the United States to embody the militia, and of proving the attachment of the American people to that conſtitution. Such a trial could not have been made under better auſpices than the preſidency of George Waſhington, who at that time was highly popular.

That the private animoſity of Mr. Hamilton had any ſhare in this buſineſs, as has been ſaid, is what I ſhall never prevail upon myſelf to believe; his character oppoſes ſuch an opinion, and the powerful reaſons which were the motive of this expedition are alone a ſufficient evidence of its neceſſity.

It is poſſible, and I am inclined to believe, that this expedition, in which fifteen thouſand men were employed, would have been in every reſpect equally ſucceſsful with one-third of the force;

force; and that, conſequently, the immenſe expence which reſulted from the march of this army acroſs a country very little inhabited, and from the ſupplies of proviſions which it was neceſſary to procure from Philadelphia, might have been conſiderably diminiſhed. The exceſs of expences beyond exact neceſſity is, no doubt, a great evil in every government. But ſtill it may be ſaid, that the diſplay of this great force, that the order given to the militia that did not march, to hold themſelves in readineſs to do ſo, to the number of eighty thouſand men, rendered the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents more prompt and more complete.

But whatever may have been the exceſs in the expences, or the hidden views of men of influence, the expedition had a deſirable effect in regard to all good citizens; an adherence to the meaſures of government, and an attachment to the conſtitution, were generally expreſſed; they were manifeſted ſtrongly and ſincerely by the federaliſts and anti-federaliſts; and although the oppoſite party accuſed ſome of the latter with being the promoters of the inſurrection, not one among them could be found that was in the ſmalleſt degree implicated in it. Men of different political opinions marched as volunteers in the militia of their ſtate, leaving their buſineſs and their fa-

miles,

milies, in order to promote the public welfare. All proved that the maintenance of order and a reſpect for the laws were unanimouſly conſidered as the duty, as the intereſt of every good citizen. Not a ſingle drop of blood was ſpilt, and the general good wiſhes of the different parties in the United States, attended this expedition throughout its whole duration of four months.

I had been a few days at Philadelphia, when the militia of that city marched in from this expedition; and I find in a journal that I then kept of the impreſſions I received from all the new objects which ſtruck me, that which was cauſed by the arrival of this militia. I inſert it here.

"The battalions did not come back from this expedition till the beginning of December; their return was a real *fête* for the city; not one of thoſe *fêtes* which we have often ſeen ordered in Europe by the governments, and which are ſure to be attended with great expence, tumult, and diſorder; but of thoſe which the public mind can alone give and receive, and perhaps only on a ſimilar occaſion.

"The day of their arrival was announced; their brother ſoldiers, who had remained at Philadelphia, or had already returned from the expedition, went in a body to meet them, three miles

miles without the city; almoſt all the inhabitants came out of their houſes, either to go and meet the troops, or to place themſelves where they were to paſs; moſt of them had to ſee a ſon, a brother, a couſin, a friend, or ſome intereſting perſon: all ſaw in them the defenders of the law, the object of public gratitude. The militia that had left the city, in meeting the others, formed their advanced and rear guards; thoſe who were coming back continued their march. The crowd that preſſed upon them did not diſturb their order; their battalions marched by columns in ranks at five or ſix paces aſunder. The men who compoſed them were moſtly young, had a good appearance and marched well: they were clothed alike, and carried a large knapſack, with which none of them ſeemed fatigued. Their looks ſought and received with ſatisfaction thoſe which affection and joy ſent them from all quarters; but they did not quit their ranks, and the regularity of their march was not interrupted. In this manner they croſſed the city amidſt the acclamations of the public.

"The preſident, whoſe houſe lay in their way, came out, received their ſalutes, and joined his applauſe to that of the other citizens; and this applauſe alone was more gratifying to the battalions than that of all the others. Being arrived

before

before the ſtate-houſe, they returned their colours, and were diſbanded.

"Then their relations and friends, both male and female, got hold of theſe ſoldiers who were reſtored to them. The recollection of the fear that was entertained at their departure of the dangers they were about to run, augmented the pleaſure of ſeeing them again, although they had not incurred any; they were hugged, kiſſed, and led to their homes; every one had about him a little groupe compoſed of perſons to whom he was the moſt dear; and thoſe citizens, who feelingly exulted in the peace and happineſs which theſe children of the country were about to find again in the boſom of their families. Europeans or Americans, nobody was inſenſible to this ſpectacle, which was equally affecting and ſublime. Tears fell from ſeveral eyes.

"Such is the exact account of this *fête*, where thoſe who were preſent felt more happineſs than gaiety, and where public welfare muſt have received the aſſurance of finding again, whenever there was a neceſſity for it, the ſame attachment as that which had been thus recently rewarded."

CONNEXIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

The law whoſe object is to regulate the intercourſe between the citizens and the United States with

with the Indian tribes by whom they are ſurrounded, was enacted in May 1796. It is to continue in force during the ſpace of only two years, as was the caſe with the former laws on the ſame ſubject; but it contains regulations more ſtrongly marked with liberality and juſtice, and more explicitly laid down, than any of thoſe which preceded it.

By this law it is provided that the preſident ſhall cauſe the boundaries between the territory of the United States and that occupied by the different tribes bordering on them, to be aſcertained and marked as clearly as poſſible.

All inhabitants of the United States are forbidden to hunt in or carry off cattle from any part of the territories acknowledged by the treaty as the property or poſſeſſion of the Indians, on pain of a hundred dollars fine and ſix months' impriſonment.

They are prohibited on pain of fifty dollars fine and ſix months' impriſonment, to enter the territory of the Indians ſouth of the Ohio without a paſſport from the governor of ſome one of the ſtates, or from the military commandant of ſome of the poſts adjoining to that territory.

Every robbery, fraud, or other crime of what nature ſoever, committed againſt an Indian by an inhabitant of the United States and within the

the territory of the United States, is puniſhed by a fine of a hundred dollars and twelve months' impriſonment, beſides a reſtitution of the property taken or deſtroyed, or its value.

If the delinquent be unable to pay the value, the United States become reſponſible for it; provided however that the aggrieved Indian have not himſelf taken vengeance for the injury; in which caſe, the reſtitution is not to be made.

Any inhabitant of the United States who forms or endeavours to form a ſettlement for himſelf in the Indian territory, is to be recalled from it by the preſident of the United States, to pay a fine of a thouſand dollars, and ſuffer twelve months' impriſonment.

Any inhabitant who kills in the Indian territory an Indian belonging to any tribe in amity with the United States, is to ſuffer capital puniſhment.

All trade with the Indians is prohibited without permiſſion from the principal agent of the United States on the frontier of the Indian territory where ſuch trade is to be carried on: and thoſe who have obtained permiſſion for that purpoſe, are forbidden to purchaſe from the Indians any of the implements of houſehold economy, hunting or agriculture.

They muſt not, either from the Indians or from

from any white man reſiding among them, purchaſe any horſe, without expreſs permiſſion from the principal agent.

This law ſubjects the Indians to the ſame prohibitions with reſpect to the white people.

An Indian guilty of any crime may be apprehended within the territory of the United States.

If he eſcape, the inhabitant who has been injured by him is to lay his complaint, accompanied by a circumſtantial detail of particulars, before the agent of the United States, who is to demand reparation of the nation or tribe to which the offending Indian belongs, and to acquaint the preſident with the reſult of his demand.

If reparation is not made, the injured party is indemnified from the treaſury of the United States; and the ſum thus applied is deducted from the ſubſidies granted by the United States to that tribe.

The courts of the United States, and alſo, when the cauſe is not capital, the courts of the individual States, take cognizance of all thoſe offences, even when they have been committed within the territories belonging to the Indians.

The troops of the United States ſtationed on the Indian frontier are bound to arreſt delinquent white men even in the Indian territory; and

ſuch

ſuch delinquents are to be apprehended in any part of the United States where they may be found.

This law, which is wiſe and juſt in its proviſions, is far from being punctually executed. The extremity of the United States bordering on the territory of the Indians is inhabited by a ſet of men who are in hoſtility with them. Avidity, and the deſire and intention of plundering them, are the motives which induced them to chooſe the frontier as the place of their ſettlement, and the ſources of that conſtant enmity which they bear to the Indians.

This claſs of inhabitants are, by the report of every individual who is not one of themſelves, the very worſt ſet of men in all America, and perhaps in the whole univerſe. The ſentiments and even the very idea of honeſty and humanity are unknown to them. They are all plundering ferocious banditti; and none but very ſlight ſhades of diſcrimination are obſervable between them in this reſpect: it therefore moſt commonly happens that neither accuſers nor witneſſes nor juries can be found for the proſecution of a white man guilty of a treſpaſs or crime againſt an Indian.

The Americans, eſpecially thoſe on the frontier, no more conſider an Indian as a man than certain

certain West-Indian planters believe a negro to belong to the human ſpecies.

The oppreſſions, the uſurpations, the crimes committed by the whites againſt the Indians are therefore never puniſhed: at leaſt the inſtances of puniſhment are ſo rare that it would be difficult to quote even a ſingle one.

The Indian on the other hand, haraſſed and plundered, contracts the habit of robbery and pillage, of which he ſees the example and is himſelf the victim: and as, according to the practice among ſavages, he extends his vengeance to every individual of the ſame colour with the perſon who has injured him,—the whites, even if there were any leſs inclined than others to plunder and hatred of the Indians, would aſſume that diſpoſition through hatred, or as a meaſure of ſafety. The Indians likewiſe ſay that it is the worſt claſs of their tribes who habitually continue near the frontiers.

The government of the United States does not poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength to repreſs thoſe irregularities; the governments of the individual ſtates do not attend to them: every perſon ſpeaks of this dreadful ſtate of things as principally and originally ariſing from the lawleſs aggreſſions of the whites: but as the evil is habitual, and ſo

inveterate, that it is not eaſy to diſcover a remedy for it, people ſpeak of it without horror.

Thus it is impoſſible even to foreſee any end to the cruel oppreſſions exerciſed over the Indians by the avidity of the American frontier ſettlers. I muſt add, that there are few Americans who do not entertain a wiſh, and even the deſign, if they were able to accompliſh it, of driving the Indians acroſs the Miſſiſippi, and even to the South Sea, which to the unreflecting ambition of many among them, appears the only boundary that ought to limit the extent of the United States.

Another law, enacted in April of the ſame year 1796, and whoſe duration is in like manner confined to two years, eſtabliſhes a trade with the Indians in the neighbourhood of the United States, under the authority of the preſident.

A hundred and fifty thouſand dollars are appropriated to the trade, of which the objects are to furniſh the Indians with ſuch ſupplies and implements as their wants require, and to purchaſe from them ſkins and furs.

The law directs that the prices of the articles ſold to the Indians be ſo regulated as barely to prevent the United States from loſing any part of their capital. It reſtrains the agents employed in

in this trade from trafficking directly or indirectly on their own account; it forbids them to cheat the Indians; and ſubjects them to fines of different magnitude in proportion to the nature of the offences by which they tranſgreſs theſe regulations. The diſtrict courts of the ſtates where the ſtore-houſes are eſtabliſhed for their commerce, take cognizance of theſe offences.

Whoever is acquainted with the temper of thoſe who treat with the Indians, may be aſſured that the liberal proviſions of this law are not punctually reduced to practice.

Here a word may be ſaid concerning the civilization of the Indians.

Whether civilization be a good or an evil to thoſe who live in the immenſity of woods neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, is a queſtion entirely metaphyſical, which I have no intention to diſcuſs.

But that Indians, deſpoiled of nineteen parts out of twenty of their territory, and confined amidſt white people in a ſoil incapable of ſupplying the wants of their ſavage life, ſhould be civilized, is an inconteſtible truth, for in ſuch a ſituation it is neceſſary either to attempt their civilization or their deſtruction, and the latter alternative cannot yet be openly avowed.

It is an eſtabliſhed opinion in America, even

among thoſe who appear the moſt exempt from prejudices, that the Indians can never be civilized; that the ſtricteſt education, the moſt aſſiduous and perſevering cares, cannot deſtroy their ſavage habits, to which they recur with the moſt ardent paſſion, from the tranquillity and from the manners of the white people; and an infinite number of examples are cited of Indians who, brought up at Philadelphia, at New York, and even in Europe, never ceaſed to ſigh after their tribe, and quitted every thing to go and rejoin it whenever a favourable opportunity offered itſelf. So that aſſertion, ſupported by ſo many examples, becomes a received truth.

Yet there is no reaſoning which can enforce the belief of this pretended truth, and the proofs of the facts which are brought to ſupport it are not of a nature to ſilence inquiry. The Indians whoſe education has been attempted, or ſaid to be, had already paſſed ſome years of their life in the tribe to which they belonged; tranſported alone from their ſpecies into the midſt of white people, different in language, habits and in colour, and often even in clothing, they became as it were iſolated, they were regarded by the whites as a different ſpecies of men; they did not attempt even to make them forget that they were from a nation ſtill exiſting, whoſe manners and habits had

had rivetted their firſt attention and made the deepeſt impreſſion upon them; if when arrived at the age of manhood, they ſhould have imbibed for a white woman that affection which naturally created the deſire of an union with her, the difference of colour became almoſt an inſurmountable obſtacle. Is it to be wondered then that theſe Indians ſhould wiſh to return to their tribes of which they had ſtill the moſt lively memory, and where alone they were able to find companions of ſimilar manners to their own, and thoſe pleaſures which cauſe in man an attachment to life.

The reſult then of theſe examples ſo often quoted is, that an Indian educated in an American college, three hundred miles from his native place, cannot but with difficulty throw off his original habits and ceaſe to have a preference for them; this is the whole deduction. There are in Connecticut, in the State of New York, a conſiderable number of Indians, both men and women, who ſerve as domeſtics in European families, and in thoſe who are become Americans, who perform their duty as well and as faithfully as thoſe of another ſpecies.

But this is nothing to the civilization of whole nations, which is the only object from which any real advantage can be derived either to them-

ſelves or to ſociety in general. The great difficulty which attends the reformation of the moſt trifling habits of a poliſhed people, of a family, and even of an individual, ſufficiently demonſtrates the obſtacles which attend the civilization of a ſavage race; and yet in the midſt of our great ſocieties, the lights ſurrounding a poliſhed people, families and individuals, afford an ample and powerful aid to the buſineſs of reform.

It is only then by continual aſſiduities, applied according to circumſtances, and prolonged for many ſucceſſive generations, that this entire civilization can be effected, and even then only gradually.

The conviction of the utility of ſuch a work is neceſſary to the ſurmounting the obſtacles which oppoſe it, and to triumph with certainty. It neither belongs to my ſubject nor to the intention of this work, to ſhow the particular means by which this event may be accompliſhed; the underſtanding and courage of the friends of humanity will eaſily point them out; but individuals, and even ſocieties, will ever be unable to work this uſeful change, unleſs the governments of the territories which Indian tribes inhabit will contribute all in their power to effect it. But this can only be the reſult of their firm conviction of the advantages of ſuch efforts, and

hitherto

hitherto none of the American governments have appeared to be penetrated with this conviction; on the contrary, every one regards the lands left to theſe poor Indians as an appendage of their own ſovereignty, as a kind of loan which their kindneſs has made with this miſerable race; they are in their eyes only travelling gueſts, which ought not to remain a long time in their territory.

Such ideas, more or leſs avowed, nurſed by a thirſt for gain, caſt at a diſtance the project of civilization, and give conſiſtence to the prejudices upon which the belief is founded, that it is impoſſible to civilize the Indians.

Nevertheleſs ſome tribes, the *Oneidas*, for example, in the ſtate of New York, and ſome others in Canada, are conſiderably advanced towards a ſtate of civilization; they labour, cultivate the earth, traffic, and are ſenſible of the neceſſity of civilization. The Quakers and Moravians carry the principles of reform among the fartheſt tribes; but their reſpectable efforts cannot be very uſeful, or at moſt not completely ſo, without the influence and direction of government. The civilization of theſe people ought to be the work of the legiſlature and general adminiſtrations; it is above the efforts of particular charity and aſſiſtance The beneficent ſocieties juſt mentioned might be

uſefully employed in it, having been for ages ſuſceptible of long patience and unalterable courage, ſo neceſſary to ſucceſs; but, as was ſaid before, they can only be employed as inſtruments for this purpoſe by enlightened governments, who, convinced that the civilization of the Indians living near the frontiers is a benefit to humanity, a means of augmenting the ſale of the productions of their territory, of increaſing the riches of their citizens and the power of the ſtates, will unceaſingly purſue the means of accompliſhing this laudable end.

It is this revolution in the ſpirit of the American governments which is ſo deſirable, without which even a hope cannot be conceived that this work will be effected; it claſhes too much with particular intereſts, which, contrary as they are to the general intereſt, ſpeak as loud, and are attended to as much.

NATURALIZATION.

The right of a citizen, or naturalization, which populous ſtates, with narrow limits, may find it political to grant with difficulty, ought to be obtained upon more eaſy terms in a country of great extent and thinly inhabited, where the capitals and labour of ſtrangers are neceſſary.

In 1790 the congreſs fixed two years reſidence in

in the territories of the United States, one of which to be in the ſame ſtate, as a ſufficient condition to become a naturalized citizen. The oath made before ſome court of juſtice to be faithful to the conſtitution, and to defend it, was the only formula required; and this naturalization of the father imparted the ſame right to ſuch of his children as were under the age of twenty-one when the oath was taken, even if they were born in a foreign country.

In 1793 the conditions were made more difficult. The inſurrection of Pittſburg had taken place a little before, which the government attributed to the ſtrangers recently arrived from Ireland, who, it was ſaid, formed the greateſt number of the inſurgents, and who, ſo readily to be miſled by the factious, ſhewed the certain danger of appointing men to places, who had abuſed in ſuch a dangerous manner, the truſt repoſed in them. To avoid this evil in future, it was thought neceſſary to make the right of voting at elections more difficult to be obtained, which could only be done by raiſing the conditions of naturalization: ſo the government party reaſoned; the oppoſition party favoured the ſame meaſure, but from different motives. The fate of the French revolution was not then fixed; it appeared probable that more than one European ſtate was deſtined

deſtined to undergo revolutions. The richeſt claſſes, which in Europe are called the moſt diſtinguiſhed, were, according to appearances, likely to become the victims of theſe revolutions; many individuals would in that caſe ſeek an aſylum in America, and carry with them whatever they could ſave of their fortunes; they would alſo bring with them their habits and their prejudices, abſolutely contrary to that republican ſpirit which this party were ſo deſirous to nurture and reanimate, but bearing a ſtrong analogy to that ariſtocratic ſpirit which it accuſed the other party of endeavouring to introduce. A higher price being put upon the right of naturalization, would render this danger more diſtant, and probably diminiſh the number of emigrants of this claſs.

The new law of naturalization, therefore, had its origin in the combination of the views of two parties. It was good in intention, as was proved by the long and warm debates which took place upon diſcuſſing it in detail, and was deſired by both ſides.

By this law, the time required for becoming a citizen of the United States is extended to five years reſidence in their territory, of which one muſt have been in the ſtate where the candidate for citizenſhip had taken the oath. Three years, at leaſt, before he be admitted to this definitive oath,

oath, he muſt have preſented himſelf before one of the federal courts of juſtice, and have there declared upon oath that he had a ſincere intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, and to renounce all dependence and fidelity upon any prince, ſtate, or ſovereignty whatever, particularly upon the prince, ſtate, or ſovereignty of which he was actually a ſubject. His definitive oath, made alſo before a federal court, ought to expreſs the ſame poſitions and renunciation. He is alſo required to renounce his titles of nobility, if he had belonged to that claſs in the country where he was born, or from whence he arrived.

It is alſo required that he ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the conſtitution of the United States. Theſe two oaths are regiſtered in the courts where they were taken.

In order to confer the title of naturalization upon the children who were under the age of twenty-one years at the naturalization of their father, the law of 1793 requires the ſame conditions as that of 1790.

This reſidence of five years, required by the latter law, to become a citizen of the United States, is not impoſed upon thoſe who arrived in America before its promulgation, ſuch may become ſo two years afterwards; but the oath required by the new law is indiſpenſably neceſſary.

OF

OF NUMBERING THE PEOPLE AND POPULATION.

The American conſtitution, when it ordained the general enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States within the three years ſucceeding its acceptation, enacted alſo that the ſame enumeration ſhould be renewed every ten years; and left it to the congreſs to make a law for regulating the manner of performing it. A law was paſſed for this purpoſe, on the firſt of March, 1790.

The marſhal of every diſtrict* was ordered to ſuperintend the enumeration of the ſtate where he exerciſed his functions. In this work he was authorized to call in what aid and aſſiſtance he might judge proper. He was ordered to make a return to the preſident of the United States, diſtinguiſhing, in the table of population, the number of free males under and over the age of ſixteen years, the free women and girls of every age, and the ſlaves. The Indians who might live in the diſtricts were not to be included in the liſt of population.

* This office is the ſame in the courts of juſtice of the United States as that of ſheriff in thoſe of particular ſtates; the diſtrict being conſidered as nothing but a ſtate ſubject to judicial orders, it is the extent and bounds of a judge of a diſtrict, and we have ſhewn, under the article of the judicial order, that there is one of theſe in every ſtate.

Every

Every aſſiſtant in enumerating the people ought, before he ſends his account to the marſhal, to affix it in two or three of the moſt frequented places of aſſembly within his bounds, that it may receive the corrections which the inhabitants may ſuggeſt, giving an account of the reaſons why they ought to be made. Every head of a family who refuſes to give to the aſſiſtant, when he is taking his account, the number of his or her family, or gives in an incorrect one, incurs a fine of twenty dollars. The aſſiſtant, himſelf, incurs a fine of two hundred dollars if his account be incorrect, or if it was not returned to the marſhal of the diſtrict at the time required. The marſhal is puniſhed by a fine of eight hundred dollars if he alters the accounts of his aſſiſtants, or omits ſending his own to the preſident of the United States at the time appointed.

Every marſhal receives as a reward for his labour, from two to five hundred dollars, according to the extent of his diſtrict. The aſſiſtant, for his particular trouble, receives a dollar for every hundred and fifty perſons in the country, and the ſame for every three hundred perſons in towns, the inhabitants of which are contiguous. Sometimes he receives the ſame for every fifty perſons, when the account is taken in places where the inhabitants are much ſcattered. The judges of the

the diſtrict regulate the ſum of theſe proportions by the advice, and at the requeſt of the marſhal.

For every copy of his account which the aſſiſtant affixes for public inſpection, he is paid two dollars.

The whole of this enumeration ought to be performed in nine months; the total expence of it is eſtimated at forty thouſand dollars every time it is made.

The enumeration of the people taken in 1791, by virtue of law, announced a population of three millions nine hundred and twenty-nine thouſand three hundred and twenty-ſix inhabitants, of which three millions two hundred and thirty-one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine were free; among whom were fifty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven negroes, or perſons of colour, and ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one ſlaves.

The inhabitants of the territory of the weſt are not included in this number; but the population there is ſo inconſiderable, that if it were added, it would make no important difference in the total number.

It is believed, upon a ſeries of partial obſervations, that the population of the United States is doubled every fifteen years; not including in this eſtimation the emigration from Europe, which

varies

varies annually, and is at preſent much leſs than it was ſome years ſince; but the exact number cannot be known, becauſe there is no regiſter kept of them at the different places where they arrive at; this emigration conſiſts principally of Iriſh. But not to exaggerate the increaſe of population in the United States, I do not ſuppoſe it is doubled in leſs than twenty years, that is five in the hundred every year.

The population was in 1791, four millions: in twenty years it will be augmented to eight millions; in forty years to ſixteen; in ſixty years to thirty-two; in eighty years to ſixty-four; and in eighty-five years to eighty millions; then the territory of the United States will be peopled in the ſame proportion that France was before the revolution. The extent of the territory poſſeſſed by the United States, after the war, was ſix hundred and forty millions of acres, from which fifty-one millions ought to be deducted for lakes and rivers, and then there will remain five hundred and eighty-nine millions of acres.

Beſides, they have granted to the Indians, whoſe rights they have acknowledged, two hundred and twenty millions, which reduced their poſſeſſions to three hundred and ſixty-nine millions.

But by the treaty with Great Britain in 1795, their

their territory has been increaſed twenty-three millions of acres; ſo that their actual territory is three hundred and eighty-two millions of acres.

In theſe calculations I have neglected odd numbers; the American geographers and land-ſurveyors eſtimate the extent of the territory at three hundred eighty-two millions four hundred twenty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty acres.

France, when the enumeration of the people was taken by order of the conſtituent aſſembly, contained twenty-ſeven millions one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand inhabitants, and its extent was, at the ſame time, (anterior to its conqueſts) twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſixty ſquare leagues, at the rate of two thouſand two hundred and eighty toiſes to a league, of which the total is a hundred and thirty-one millions two hundred twenty-two thouſand and ninety-five acres. Her extent of territory was to that of the United States as nine to twenty-ſix, very nearly. The United States, therefore, muſt have a population of nearly eighty millions of inhabitants to be peopled in the ſame proportion as France; and it has been ſhewn, that according to the leaſt favourable calculations, they may arrive at that ſtate in 1876.

What an enormous fund, a great and inexhauſtible ſource of proſperity, muſt ſuch a population

lation afford, particularly when deſtined to be ſpread over lands eaſy to be made fertile, over a country watered by the fineſt rivers, with the means of extending the interior navigation to almoſt every ſpot.

It is true that this increaſing progreſſion of population may be diminiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances; and even that this progreſſion may become leſs in proportion as population arrives to a great number; for then marriages will become leſs frequent, leſs early, and probably leſs fruitful. But it is not neceſſary for the United States to arrive at this high degree of population before they profit by the abundance and richneſs of their ſoil, maintain an active induſtry, and nouriſh with their produce a ſolid and rich commerce; and ſhould they never reach ſo high as to the two-thirds, or at leaſt to one-half of the population to which it appears by calculation they may attain in twenty-five years, they may be more numerous than is neceſſary for them to become a rich and reſpectable nation. Bad laws, illiberal or weak principles in the legiſlature or government, can alone oppoſe the proſperity and the greatneſs deſtined for them.

OF THE COIN OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States have a mint; the law which ordered its eſtabliſhment was made in the month of April 1792. It regulates the diviſion, the value, and the ſtandard of the money of the United States.

The diviſion and value of theſe monies are as follow:

GOLD COIN.

The eagle, value ten dollars.
The half-eagle, value five dollars.
The quarter-eagle, value two dollars and a half.

SILVER COIN.

The dollar, value a hundred cents.
The half-dollar, value fifty cents.
The quarter-dollar, value twenty-five cents.
The tenth of a dollar, value twelve cents and a half.
The half-tenth, value ſix cents and a quarter.

COPPER COIN.

The cent, value the hundredth part of a dollar.
The half cent, value the two hundredth of a dollar.

The weight of theſe is as follows:

The

The eagle ought to contain two hundred and forty-ſeven grains and a half of pure gold, or two hundred and ſeventy grains of ſtandard gold, which is thus regulated; eleven parts of pure gold in twelve, and a twelfth of alloy, of which nearly one-half ought to be of ſilver.

The half eagle ought to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and three-fourths of pure gold, or one hundred and thirty-five grains of alloy gold.

The quarter eagle ought to contain ſixty-one grains of pure gold, or ſixty-ſeven grains and half of alloy gold.

The dollar ought to contain three hundred and ſeventy-one grains one-fourth of pure ſilver, or four hundred and ſixteen grains of alloy ſilver.

The ſtandard of ſilver is one thouſand four hundred and eighty-five parts of pure ſilver, and one hundred and ſeventy-nine parts of alloy, which is of pure copper.

The half dollar ought to contain a hundred and eighty-five grains and five-eighths of pure ſilver, or two hundred and eighty grains of ſtandard ſilver.

A quarter dollar ought to contain ninety-two grains thirteen-ſixteenths of pure ſilver, or one hundred and four grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The tenth of a dollar ought to contain thirty-

ſeven grains one-eighth of pure ſilver, or fifty-two grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The half-tenth ought to contain eighteen grains one-ſixteenth of pure ſilver, or twenty-ſix grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The cent ought to contain eleven penny-weights of copper.

The half-cent ought to contain five and a half.

The gold and ſilver coin ought, according to law, to bear on one ſide an emblematical figure of Liberty, and upon the other the eagle of the United States, with the words "United States."

The copper coins, inſtead of the American eagle, bear an inſcription denominating their value.

The proportional value between gold and ſilver when coined, to the coin of the United States, is determined by comparing one pound of the one to fifteen of the other; that is to ſay, one pound of coined gold is equal to fifteen pounds of coined ſilver.

This law contains alſo all other regulations neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of the mint, and charges the preſident to order and overſee the expences of buildings, machines, &c.

All the counties of the United States are required to make uſe of theſe coins.

The Spaniſh dollar is the only piece of foreign coin

coin which is current in the United States as money, all others, which had received a valuation by the law, are only received by weight ſince 1795.

A report of a committee of the houſe of repreſentatives ſtated, at the beginning of 1795, that the mint, ſince its eſtabliſhment, had not ſtruck off in copper coin more than one million eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred cents, equal in value to ten thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five dollars; and in ſilver coin no more than thirty-four thouſand one hundred and ſixty-five dollars. This paucity of the produce of the mint is attributed to different embarraſſments and delays which it has experienced in the completion of its eſtabliſhment, of which the expences then amounted to fifty-eight thouſand three hundred and ninety-four dollars.

The director of the mint, when he entered into office at the end of the year 1795, in his report of its ſtate, at the beginning of his adminiſtration, after ſearching the regiſter, reports, that the pieces of money which had been fabricated ſince the foundation of the eſtabliſhment, and ſent to the treaſury of the United States on the 1ſt of December, 1796, were as follow:

Eagles - - -	8,875
Half-eagles - - -	12,106

Quarter-eagles	66
Dollars	272,941
Half-dollars	323,144
Quarter-dollars	5,894
Tenths	22,135
Half-tenths	96,649
Cents	2,140,732
Half-cents	258,014

Total value 414,175 dollars 70 cents.

The greateſt part of this money was ſtruck in the year 1796. This eſtabliſhment has hitherto been more expenſive than uſeful to the finances of the United States.

After deducting the value of the money coined and ſent to the treaſury, it had coſt, at the end of 1796, more than twenty-one thouſand dollars; and the ſecretary of the treaſury, in his eſtimation of the expences of the year 1797, reckons thoſe of the mint to amount to fourteen thouſand dollars.

The money in circulation in the United States is eſtimated at eight millions of dollars in value.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CLIMATE AND MANNERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The whole length of the territory of the United States is biſected by one chain of mountains, under

der different names: ſome other mountains entwine themſelves with this chain at ſeveral points in its extent, but their bounds are not extenſive. The long chain which divides the United States, runs from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt. The plains between theſe mountains and the ſea are very narrow in the provinces of the north; and the land there is generally ſtony, though very fruitful in many places.

From Pennſylvania to North Carolina the plains become larger, and the ſoil is fat, ſandy, clayey, and fertile; but they are yet much more extenſive from South Carolina to Florida; the land then becomes low, flat, covered with water, and appears to have been quitted by the ſea at a period not very diſtant.

To the weſt of this long chain of mountains, the vaſt country which extends to the Miſſiſippi is of the greateſt fertility, and watered by the fineſt rivers, which flow either into this great river, or into the Ohio, which, after a courſe of fifteen hundred miles, falls into it itſelf.

It is this long chain of mountains which divides the waters which run into the Atlantic, from thoſe which, throwing themſelves into the Miſſiſippi, and into the rivers which diſcharge themſelves there, gain the gulf of Mexico; in the ſame manner as the yellow mountains, at eight or

nine hundred miles beyond the Miſſiſippi, divide the waters which flow into this river from thoſe which fall into the South Sea.

The great difference of latitude produces a proportional change in the climates of different ſtates. The ſnow covers Vermont and the province of Maine during five or ſix months of the year, and the winter there laſts ſeven; while there is hardly any winter in South Carolina, and ſtill leſs in Georgia; and ſhould any ſnow fall there, it does not remain two days upon the ground.

The ſudden variations of the temperature is a common characteriſtic of the climate of the different ſtates. It is uſual to ſee the thermometer fall or riſe twenty-five degrees in twenty-four hours, according to the ſcale of Farenheit, equal to eleven degrees one-ninth of Reaumur. I have ſeen it fall very often, and particularly in April 1796, in twelve hours, from the twentieth degree of Reaumur, equal to the ſeventy-ſeventh of Farenheit, to five of Reaumur, equal to forty-four and a half of Farenheit; and this obſervation has been made at Wilmington in Delaware, and at Baltimore.

The cold is incomparably ſtronger and more durable in America than in Europe in the ſame latitude, and the heat more intenſe, more oppreſſive, and more inſupportable. It may be remark-

ed,

ed, that in the different latitudes of the continent of North America, the heat differs more in its duration than in its power; in 1795 I have ſeen, in Upper Canada, the thermometer of Farenheit riſe in July to the ninety-ſecond degree; in the month of Auguſt in the ſame year I have ſeen it at ninety-ſix at Albany. At Savannah, in Georgia, it ſeldom riſes beyond that; and from Newark, in Upper Canada, or Albany, in the ſtate of New York, to Savannah, there is a difference of fourteen degrees of latitude; but the thermometer remains, during a month or two at Savannah, at this height, and very ſeldom two days together in the northern ſtates.

This great variation of climate affects very ſenſibly the health of the inhabitants of the United States. People become old in America ſooner than in Europe; and it is more rare to ſee men of a great age there, eſpecially in the ſtates ſouth of New England.

The influence of the climate upon females is ſtill more ſenſible. When young they are generally beautiful, and more particularly ſo at Philadelphia; but after twenty years of age they ſoon begin to loſe their freſh colour; at twenty-five many of them might be taken for Europeans of forty; their bloom is no more, and their form has already ſuffered a change. If they have previouſly

previouſly been mothers, their alteration is ſtill more premature; yet neither nightly revels, the abuſe of ſpirituous liquors, the want of exerciſe, nor an exceſs of it, can be brought as a pretext for this early change. If in the eaſtern ſtates the period of their beauty ſhould be lengthened, it is but for a ſhort time.

The number of children which die in their infancy is proportionably much greater than in Europe. Colds, hooping-coughs, and diſorders of the throat, take off a great quantity. The moſt common diſeaſes in all the ſtates are flowings of the cheſt, conſumptions, and bilious and putrid fevers; I do not mention intermitting fevers, the moſt frequent of all, becauſe they are not mortal, though they ſometimes degenerate into bilious fevers.

An epidemical diſeaſe, during ſeveral of the laſt years, has made great ravages in the United States. From Boſton there is hardly a maritime town but what has felt its fatal effects during five or ſix years. Philadelphia, in 1793, loſt by this malady one-tenth of its population. At the moment I am quitting America, this city is ſtill deſolated by this ſcourge; and if the number of her victims be leſs conſiderable than it has been during four years, it is becauſe nine-tenths of the inhabitants took flight at the firſt appearance of this dread-

ful

ful diſorder; for among thoſe who remained the proportion of death appears yet greater. This diſeaſe does not manifeſt itſelf till near the cloſe of the ſummer, and does not ceaſe till the cold ſeaſon ſets in. I will not undertake to ſpeak of its ſymptoms, which appear to be very curious; nor of its treatment, upon which the opinions of almoſt all the phyſicians of the United States vary. Since 1793, a great number of writings upon this diſeaſe have appeared, which ſome phyſicians believe to have been imported from the Antilles, while ſome contend that it is indigenous; ſome ſtate it to be of the moſt communicative infection, and others maintain that it is not even epidemic; and there are who ſay, that it is only a malignant fever of a ſerious ſpecies.

However it may be, the dread of this diſorder is ſuch, that it is often believed to have taken place when it has not, and that many ſimple putrid fevers receive the name and the treatment of the yellow fever.

It is generally remarked, that this diſeaſe has not yet made its appearance in any towns in the interior parts; that in the maritime towns where it has raged ſo cruelly, it has hardly ever extended beyond the ſame quarters; and laſtly, that of all the inhabitants of theſe unfortunate places, the French are among thoſe who have been

been the leaſt attacked with it: only one of them died at Philadelphia in 1793, and only four this year, though no Frenchman quitted the city. The more circumſpect uſe which they make of ſpirituous liquors, is the reaſon which is given for the good fortune of having eſcaped from this danger, while it was almoſt general to others.

We read almoſt every where, that the indigenous ſpecies, men and animals, are ſmaller in America than in the ancient continent. It is neceſſary to have ſeen more animals than I have had an opportunity of ſeeing, and to have made more perſonal obſervations, to have formed a firm opinion upon this great queſtion. What I have ſeen of indigenous animals, bears, wolves, panthers, foxes, &c. have certainly appeared leſs to me than thoſe of the ſame ſpecies of the old world: it is alſo acknowledged, that they have leſs ferocity in each of their ſpecies. Yet there are found, as I have already had an occaſion to obſerve, bones which appeared to belong to animals of much greater dimenſions than any known to exiſt at preſent.

The domeſtic animals imported from Europe loſe nothing of their ſize by becoming inhabitants of America, when they find the ſame nouriſhment, and the ſame accommodations, which they received in their native ſoil. I have ſeen in New England,

England, and in many other parts of the United States, as fine cows as in any other part of the world; but they are ſcarce, becauſe the great pains taken in the different branches of agriculture are not ſo well known and practiſed; and it is alſo true, that the milk given by theſe cows is nearly equal in quantity to that given by others in Europe, and yet produces a fourth part leſs butter; and that though the beef be as fine in America as in Europe, it is not ſo ſubſtantial. This inconteſtible truth extends to the vegetable productions; and it is acknowledged, for example, that the beſt American flour, ground in the beſt mills, and made of the beſt corn, does not equal either in quantity or in quality the European flour; particularly that known in commerce by the name of flour of *moirſac*, which for that reaſon is always dearer than American flour, and preferred to it by the inhabitants of the Antilles.

As to the Indians, thoſe whom I have ſeen, without being remarkably tall, are of an ordinary ſtature, and appear to be ſtrong, and of a good conſtitution. The uſe of rum weakens and enervates them—brings on a premature old age, and death; but this is not to be attributed to either nature or the climate. Travellers who have ſeen many more Indians than I, and particularly Indians at a greater diſtance from the habitations

tions of whites, have aſſured me that they have found tribes of men very tall, and always, like the reſt of mankind, ſtronger in proportion to their ſobriety.

The vegetable kingdom, in America, is admirably rich and abundant; and particularly ſo in the ſouthern ſtates, where the plants, in great abundance, have a quick and ſtrong growth; and in the more northern parts, where their growth is not ſo ſpeedy or their odour ſo great, have generally an agreeable exhalation. M. de Caſtiglioni, an Italian traveller, who appears to have ſeen America with a penetrating eye, and to have carried his profound reſearches into the vegetable kingdom in particular, ſays, that the vegetables which grow in the United States have a great reſemblance to thoſe which grow under the ſame latitudes in the ancient continent. After the moſt minute inquiry into the different natures of the ſoil, of the climates, of the various vegetable productions in the United States, it evidently appears, that there is not any productions, except ſugar, of which the ſoil of the United States is not capable of producing, by the aid of an appropriate culture. Perhaps as to ſome of them the country may not yet be quite congenial; but the number of thoſe is, I believe, very inconſiderable.

There

There is a great variety of birds in America, and for the moſt part their plumage is exceedingly rich and brilliant. There are but few of them which entirely reſemble thoſe of the ſame ſpecies in Europe, if there be a ſpecies in exiſtence abſolutely alike. Except the mocking-bird, which counterfeits the cries of all the other birds, there are few of them which have a varied ſong, or even a charming note; and on this account a walk in the woods is much leſs delightful than in Europe.

The ſtriking difference there is between the animal and vegetable productions of the two hemiſpheres is far from being applicable to the mineral kingdom. The form of mountains, rocks, and beds of different minerals in North America, are the ſame as thoſe of the old world. There are found there different ſpecies of granite, combined and varied as in the mountains of Europe; innumerable kinds of ſchiſtes; of lime-ſtones, more or leſs perfect, and more or leſs fine; and minerals of almoſt every ſpecies. Upon the eaſt coaſt of the Atlantic, from the bay of Penobſcot, as far as Georgia, and, I am aſſured, from thence as far as the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, there are not any ſtones found of a ſecondary ſpecies, or ſuch of which any traces of the mode of their formation can be diſcovered; they are all of the granite

granite kind, containing in them veins of quartz, calcareous ſpar, marble, and different ſorts of minerals; but none of them ſhew any traces of vegetable or animal productions enveloped in their beds.

The mountains of Canada, thoſe of Lakes George and Champlain, and of the Alleghanies excepted, the ſummits of all the others are flat, and appear evidently to have been formed upon the ſame horizontal level. In ſhort, every thing in the mineral kingdom exhibits ſigns of a country more recently quitted by the waters than the three other parts of the world.

The characters of the inhabitants of the different ſtates may be expected to be as diſſimilar to each other as the climates of the countries they inhabit are various. The climate itſelf, the original formation of theſe colonies, their ancient governments, and the diverſity of nations of which the population of the United States is compoſed, has in reality impreſſed this difference between them. The poſſeſſion and uſage of ſlaves alone muſt have introduced a great difference in their manners. While paſſing through the different ſtates, I have tried to give a ſketch of this diverſity. Yet there are traits almoſt common to all the inhabitants of the United States; and the cauſe of this parity may be found in

in the recent origin of all theſe people, in the great difficulties which they experienced in their eſtabliſhments, and even in the actual conſtitution of the United States.

The traits of character common to all, are ardour for enterpriſe, courage, greedineſs, and an advantageous opinion of themſelves. The title of *the moſt enlightened nation of the whole world*, which the committee of the houſe of repreſentatives appointed to propoſe the anſwer of the houſe to the addreſs of the preſident, in December 1796, has given to the people of the United States, will be of itſelf a proof of that good opinion they have of themſelves, which I give as a common characteriſtic, eſpecially if it be known with what labour, and after what long diſcuſſions, the houſe determined to make the ſacrifice of this ſuperlative, with which the modeſty of the majority of the United States had not been embarraſſed. I quote this example as the moſt ſtriking and the moſt national; but, to tell the truth, almoſt all the books printed in America, and the individual converſations of the Americans, furniſh proofs of it daily. This character, which none of thoſe, I believe, who have ſeen America will deny to be that of the United States, is an exaggeration proceeding from the newneſs of their eſtabliſhments, and will wear out in time. Their courage will

be more exceptionable ſtill to thoſe who have the ſlighteſt knowledge of the war for independency. Habituated to fatigue from their infancy, having for the moſt part made their fortune by their labour and their induſtry, fatigue and labour are not yet become repugnant even to thoſe in the moſt eaſy circumſtances; while they wiſh to enjoy the eaſe and ſweets of life, they do not regard them as abſolute wants; they know how to diſpenſe with them, and to quit them and travel in the woods whenever their intereſt requires it; they can forget them, whenever a reverſe of fortune takes them away; and they know how to run after fortune when ſhe eſcapes them; for, as I have often ſaid before, the deſire of riches is their ruling paſſion, and indeed their only paſſion.

The ridiculous aſſertion advanced by ſome writers, that the new world could not produce genius and talents like the old, has been proved to be abſurd by the mere citation of the name of ſome inhabitants of the United States, whoſe genius and brilliant talents would do honour to any country whatever; and it may be ſuppoſed that ſhe will produce others. Further, the American people are intelligent, eager to inveſtigate, and diſpoſed to inſtruction; and many examples of men may be mentioned, who, without education, have invented and conſtructed works,

particularly

particularly in mechanics, worthy of the beſt workmen in Europe. It is nevertheleſs certain, that the number of men diſtinguiſhed for ſcience and literature there, is much leſs than in the nations of Europe, though, as Mr. Morſe ſays in his Geography, there muſt be a reaſon for this difference: the means of inſtruction are leſs complete, and not ſo extenſive—doubtleſs this is one reaſon; but I regard it as only a ſecondary cauſe; and that this ſtate of imperfection of the public education is itſelf only the conſequence of a cauſe of more general influence, I mean, that continual occupation of getting money, common to all orders and profeſſions. The ſtudy of the ſciences and of letters requires, to make much progreſs, that the mind ſhould be diſengaged from all other predominant employments; it demands the exertion of all our faculties; and it is known, that the paſſion for money is that, of all others, which keeps the moſt conſtant poſſeſſion of the mind of him who is tainted with it, and that it renders the mind leſs ſuſceptible of all diſtraction, at leaſt from all other purſuits.

In Europe, where the cultivation of the ſciences and of letters is the principal occupation of thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in them, and is, for that reaſon, a particular order, it will be found that no profeſſion has furniſhed fewer learned and

literary men than thoſe which employ the mind in calculations of loſs and gain: and in America it will be found, that thoſe who have been, and thoſe who can now be reckoned among learned men, are or were, by character or by ſituation, the moſt exempt from this common diſpoſition of their fellow citizens.

A better and more complete ſyſtem of inſtruction than that which is now generally followed in the colleges of the United States, would augment but little the number of men who give themſelves up to the ſciences and to letters, ſo long as the manners of the people continue to direct the deſires and thoughts towards the acquirement of wealth. The term of education in America is too ſhort; a young man hardly arrives at the age of ſixteen years, before his parents are deſirous of placing him in the counting-houſe of a merchant, or in the office of a lawyer. He has not yet been able to acquire at college that degree of inſtruction which would give him the means of reſigning himſelf to the ſciences and to letters, if he had a taſte for them. He ſoon loſes every other idea than thoſe which can prepare the way and hurry him on to the acquiſition of a fortune; he ſees no other views in thoſe around him, or in ſociety; he ſees his profits, and his whole conſideration is attached to ſucceſſes of this kind;

kind; how can he preſerve any other views? It is therefore this general diſpoſition which oppoſes the perfectability of the public inſtruction, which, of whatever kind it might have been, could not have prevailed over the impatience of parents to put their children into the road of acquiring riches, and over that excluſive paſſion to follow this career, which the latter imbibe with the milk from the breaſts of their mothers.

They complain in the United States, and doubtleſs with great reaſon, that a conſiderable number of American citizens, forgetful of the country to which they belong, are now arming privateers in France, for the purpoſe of taking American ſhips, which the French government deem lawful prizes; and theſe complaints are certainly well-founded, ſince there are but few greater crimes of which a citizen can be guilty. But whence aroſe the principles of this horrid crime, if not from that paſſion ſo openly avowed in America, of getting money, and becoming rich—a paſſion which leads to an indifference about the means, when it has become ſo general. This is what makes ſociety connive at unjuſt payments, at fraudulent bankruptcies, and encouſages the lending of money at an enormous intereſt, which the law condemns.

This diſpoſition is natural to a new people,

placed in a foreign territory, and under circumſtances which have afforded ſo many means of greedineſs. But it has, nevertheleſs, the moſt pernicious effects; it is no leſs pregnant with the imminent danger of benumbing the love of liberty. Time will reduce it to its juſt bounds, and the United States will certainly take among the ancient nations their rank in knowledge and in the ſciences, as well as in power. But it is indubitable, that the rapidity of the progreſs of theſe important improvements yet depends upon the ſpeed with which a revolution ſhall be made in this branch of the national manners.

I have ſpoken of the inſufficiency of the public inſtruction in the United States for making men of ſcience; and though I have pointed out the cauſe of that inſufficiency to be in the manners which enforce it, there is no impropriety in making the ſtate of it known.

The phyſical or natural part of the education of the Americans is excellent; leſt to themſelves from their tendereſt age, they are expoſed without precaution to the rigour of heat and cold, feet and legs bare, with few clothes. The children of the rich are not brought up much more tenderly than thoſe in leſs eaſy circumſtances; in the country, they often go twice a day to ſchools two or three miles diſtant from home, and alone.

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There are few American children who cannot ſwim boldly, and at ten years of age manage a gun and hunt, without meeting with an accident; and not one who does not ride with great courage, nor any who fear fatigue; and the children in towns are not brought up with more delicacy. This liberty given to children teaches them to take care of themſelves; and, bold as they are, they have the prudence to avoid dangers, which children brought up with much greater care would not avoid. They become ſtrong and enterpriſing men, whom no difficulties diſhearten, and produce a growing generation, which will be as invincible in its territory as that which preceded it proved itſelf to be.

The inſtructive part of education has not attained the ſame perfection. I have ſaid, that in New England the free-ſchools were open to all the children; and that the laws, as well as the manners of the country, impoſed it upon the parents as a duty almoſt indiſpenſable, to profit by the advantages of this public inſtitution. New England is ſtill the only part of the United States where theſe excellent eſtabliſhments have taken place. But the obſtacles which hitherto and do ſtill oppoſe ſimilar eſtabliſhments in the other ſtates, will vaniſh. All the legiſlatures are already more or leſs ſtruck with the neceſſity of theſe in-

ſtitutions; they perceive that the liberty of the preſs, which has the public inſtruction for its object, loſes its advantages in proportion as fewer men are in a ſituation to profit by it; and that the ſame ſpirit which firſt recogniſed the liberty of the preſs as a ſacred right of the inhabitants of the United States, impoſes upon her governments the duty of increaſing, as much as poſſible, the number of thoſe to whom it may be uſeful. In the free-ſchools are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with the principles of religion and morality. Beſides theſe, there are academies and colleges in various parts of the different ſtates. The academies are what are generally meant in France by boarding-ſchools or ſmall colleges; and the colleges are what are ſo called there, or rather what are called in England univerſities. They are the laſt ſtage of education; it is in theſe colleges that what are called in America the higher ſciences are taught, and degrees conferred, &c.

The education of youth in America is modelled after that of England; and I have been told, by well-informed Engliſhmen, that it is a bad copy of a bad original.

In the American ſchools, the inſtruction in Latin is ſeldom extended further than the firſt claſſic authors—Cordery, Eraſmus, Ovid, and ſome

ſome orations of Cicero, are almoſt all the books which are read in them. Virgil and Horace are read in the colleges, but a very little of them. The Roman hiſtorians, as Titus Livius, and Tacitus, are ſeldom uſed there. Suetonius, Eutropius, and Cornelius Nepos, are preferred, and the laſt is one of the beſt authors which are put into the hands of youth. Greek is but little taught; and the New Teſtament is generally the *ne plus ultra* of inſtruction in this language, if Homer be excepted, which is read in the high claſſes of ſome colleges. But the Greek tragedies, and the comedies of the celebrated Latin author Terence, and even the eaſieſt poets, and almoſt as famous, ſuch as Pindar, Anacreon, Heſiod, and Theocritus, are not read there. As to more modern authors, ſuch as Plutarch, Lucian, &c. the ſtudents know nothing more of them than what curioſity and a love of inſtruction, very rare among them, may enable them to know, by the tranſlations of them which they procure. The Orations are the only work of Cicero taught in the academies or in the colleges, at leaſt entirely, and in the original language. His Offices, his Tuſculan, his Dialogues, his Tracts upon the Laws, upon Friendſhip, and upon Oratory, are not read, or ſeldom ſo at leaſt, otherwiſe than by tranſlations.

The

The Elements of Euclid, and the Firſt Principles of Conic Sections, are the complement of mathematical inſtruction. The mechanics, hydroſtatics, and hydraulics, are taught after the works of Nicholſon, oftener after thoſe of Ferguſſon, and the moſt often after thoſe of Enfield. The name of Newton is revered in America, and where can it not be ſo? But his works are little taught, and too little time is allowed for them to be generally comprehended.

The few practical inſtructions which are given in ſome particular ſchools upon the manner of finding the height of the ſun, for the purpoſe of knowing the longitude, excepted, there is hardly any other branch of this ſpecies of information cultivated in any of the colleges of the United States; and the very ſmall number of mariners who wiſh to be inſtructed only in the practice of taking obſervations for computing the longitude, cannot find any means of doing it in America, and are induced to ſearch for this information in England. Yet the tonnage of American veſſels, navigating every ſea in the world, may be eſtimated for ſome years paſt at ſeven hundred thouſand tons annually; and improvements in navigation are the certain means of augmenting the profits ariſing from the commerce of the ſeas.

There are in moſt of the colleges ſome philo-

ſophical

ſophical inſtruments, of various degrees of perfection; and the youth receive more inſtruction in experimental philoſophy than in the more exact ſciences. I do not believe that there is any particular profeſſor in chemiſtry in any other colleges than in thoſe of New York, Prince's-town in New Jerſey, and at Cambridge in Maſſachuſetts. The little which is taught of this ſcience in other places, is by profeſſors who teach philoſophy and mathematics together.

I will not take upon myſelf to decide upon medical inſtruction, but I have been informed that in many colleges it is excellent; and I believe it may not be doubted but that this excellence will extend over all America; and if we reflect, that in a country where the love of money is ſo predominant, the profeſſion which procures the moſt of it by the extenſion of acquaintance, which captivates without abſorbing the whole mind in ſtudy, muſt produce many well-informed men; and it will be eaſy from thence to deduce the reaſons why the claſs of medicine produces in America more learned men of almoſt all kinds than all the others, and why the ſcience of medicine is better, longer, and more completely taught.

The ſtudy of theology is very confined in the American colleges, but I do not pretend to repreſent

preſent the total want of this inſtruction as an injury.

But the ſtudy of common right, of the municipal laws, of thoſe of particular ſtates, or of the United States, make no part of the inſtruction received in the colleges. This circumſtance excites aſtoniſhment, in a republic where each individual may aſpire to become a legiſlator, and where every one, as an elector, ought to be capable of judging himſelf the qualifications and conduct of the candidates, the acts and ordinances of government, and where, above all, he ought to know his duties, in order to fulfil them.

It is not leſs extraordinary, that the hiſtory of the United States, of their revolution, of the events which preceded and forced it; of the obſtacles of every nature which they had to overcome; of the ſacrifices of eaſe, of the money and blood of their fellow-citizens which they had to make; of the mutual ſuccours which the different ſtates afforded in theſe important and perilous circumſtances, ſhould not be taught in the colleges or academies of America, where the hiſtory of England is the only modern one which the youth read. Liberty is dearer to thoſe who know how much it coſt to obtain it; and in a free country, the love of liberty, obedience to the laws, and reſpect for the conſtitution, are the baſis

baſis of public morals. The hiſtory of every people who have fought for their liberty, abounds in traits of devotedneſs, of courage, and of diſintereſtedneſs, in which that of the American war is very fertile. The tranſmiſſion to poſterity of the names of thoſe who have honoured the American revolution, not only in the higheſt offices, but alſo in inferior ſtations, is a ſacred duty of the governments, and that can never be completely fulfilled, but by inculcating it in the public ſchools. Can it be feared leſt this kind of inſtruction ſhould have the effect of eternalizing the antipathy or preference of the American nation to ſuch or ſuch European nation? No; it would only prolong the ſweet remembrance of the acquiſition of liberty, and this remembrance is the peculiar property of youth, and of future ages. This remembrance is the hiſtory of the United States; their citizens cannot neglect making themſelves familiar with theſe great events without committing an injury, and, I will ſay, further, without incurring the ſhame of being ignorant of what it is the firſt duty of every man belonging to a free people to know. But this remembrance cannot engage them in any ſteps contrary to the duties of a moral and wiſe policy; it confirms them in the reſolution of keeping themſelves for ever independent of any foreign nation;

nation; and it leaves on the minds of the Americans impreſſions of ſatisfaction and of pride, which, when they become united with a ſound and enlightened morality, are the embrios of private and public virtues.

In the courſe of my journal I have had occaſion to ſpeak of learned ſocieties. They are ſufficiently numerous in America; but, as I have obſerved, they are not directed in a manner which can make them of that degree of utility of which they are capable, and of which America ſtands ſo much in need. Theſe ſocieties are not aſſiduouſly attended by their members, and this inconvenience belongs to that general cauſe, that conſtant application to gain ſo dear to them, that it leaves no leiſure for any other.

There are ſome medical ſocieties eſtabliſhed in America, which are more diligently attended, where ſome obſervations are made, though perhaps leſs perfect, and with leſs aſſiduity, than might be deſired. The medical ſociety of New York appears to be that which applies itſelf with the greateſt diligence to the cultivation of thoſe branches of knowledge conſonant to its inſtitution. For ſome time this ſociety has continued to publiſh monthly a kind of journal, filled with uſeful and intereſting tracts.

Beſides this there is not any uſeful journal or periodical

periodical work publiſhed in America of any importance; there was one publiſhed during four years at Philadelphia, under the title of the American Muſeum, really intereſting, on account of ſome pieces which it contained upon politics, literature, ſome extracts from good Engliſh works, and for the details which it gave of the principal matters relative to commerce and navigation, and of the adminiſtration of the United States. This journal ceaſed to appear in 1792, becauſe the ſubſcriptions for it had ceaſed to be abundant enough to reimburſe the editor for the expences attending it. This was certainly for America one of the moſt intereſting works worthy of ſupport; but reading has hitherto been the occupation of only a few Americans, and that of political pamphlets, or rather thoſe of party, engages the attention of the greater part of thoſe few; ſo that while there are in the cities, and even in the villages of the United States, more printing offices in proportion, than in any city in Europe, the preſſes there are principally employed on ſome books of religion, ſermons, ſome claſſical books, ſome geographical dictionaries, upon reprinting Engliſh works, and, above all, upon a great number of newſpapers. Many works of merit, however, had their birth in America; ſuch as the Hiſtory of the Revolution of the United States,

and

and that of South Carolina, by Dr. RAMSAY, of Charleſton; the hiſtories of certain ſtates, among which that of New Hampſhire, by Dr. BELKNAP, of Boſton, holds a diſtinguiſhed rank; the American Encyclopedia, which, though partly extracted from the Engliſh Encyclopedia, has a great number of original articles, and is a work of great utility; in ſhort, there are many other tracts, general or particular, upon the United States, and doubtleſs many which, while I did not name, I did not intend to exclude, any farther than I was not acquainted with them, or which had eſcaped my memory. If I have not included in this liſt the Defence of the American Conſtitution, by John Adams; the Obſervations upon Virginia, by Mr. Jefferſon; the Letters of General Waſhington during the War; it is becauſe I ſpeak here only of the employment of the American preſſes, and that theſe celebrated works were printed originally in England.

Numerous as the newſpapers in America may be, they do not ſupply the want of journals, or periodical publications. Few foreign political articles of moment find a place in them; indeed they are nothing more, at leaſt, in the larger towns, than the *Camp Liſt*, or the *Common Advertiſer*, in which parties attack each other, and deal out ſcandal; and as it often happens, when the parties

parties arrive at a certain point of exaltation, the moſt vehement are thoſe who find the moſt ſubſcribers, even among thoſe who blame them moſt.

In the debates of congreſs, ſpeeches full of reaſon, drawn from a knowledge of things, and remarkable for good logic, are often heard; indeed there are but few men there who ſpeak upon ſubjects which they do not underſtand. It is alſo ſaid, but I am not capable of deciding, that the members there expreſs themſelves in the beſt language. But prolixity is, in ſome meaſure, the common fault of American orators, who, like the writers of the new world, are not deſirous of leaving any thing to be interpreted by the underſtandings of their auditors or readers.

The moſt common vice of the inferior claſs of the American people, is drunkenneſs. The uſe which they make of ſpirituous liquors, in preference to thoſe of beer, cyder, and wine, greatly aids this diſpoſition. This excepted, there are, without doubt, fewer crimes committed in America than among an equal number of people in Europe; and the cauſe of it may be found in the eaſy circumſtances of the people, the firſt ſource of the morality of nations. Aſſaſſinations are not unknown there, but they are very rare; and theſts, eſpecially in the country, are not frequent,

though public confidence be the only ſafeguard of property. They are, as in Europe, more frequent in cities, and for the ſame reaſon.

The crime of counterfeiting bank bills is pretty common, and becomes more ſo every year. This offence is alſo frequent in thoſe countries where bank notes paſs as the current money; it is alſo, without doubt, the moſt dangerous to the public confidence. On this account there are men in America, humane in other reſpects, who contend that the puniſhment of death ought to be inflicted upon thoſe who have been pronounced guilty of counterfeiting the legal currency. But independently of every conſideration of conveniency, or even of right, to inflict the pain of death there is, in this opinion, more of political reſentment than of exact juſtice. If ſevere laws were made, and rigorouſly executed, to prevent fraudulent tranſactions from becoming ſo often the means of accumulating riches, and which, at the ſame time, ſhould have a ſufficient influence upon the manners of the people, as to deſtroy that reſpect and high conſideration, which is too often paid to men merely becauſe they are opulent, they would certainly reduce the number of crimes more than the fear of death, which experience proves to have but little effect in this reſpect.

If

If I have been ſeverely exact in repreſenting exceſſive avidity of becoming rich, as the common characteriſtic of the American people, and eſpecially in the inhabitants of cities, I ſhall be as exactly juſt in adding that this diſpoſition does not hurry them on to avarice. Without being profuſe, or forgetting the intereſt of their families, they know how to be at proper times expenſive, even with oſtentation, and they do not refuſe to aſſiſt the unfortunate, when proper opportunities for it occur. The unfortunate ſufferers by the fires at Charleſton and Savannah, and by the dreadful diſeaſe which raged at Philadelphia and New York, &c. &c. have been relieved by the abundant ſubſcriptions of the citizens of almoſt all the American towns where thoſe diſaſters did not take place; and it is certainly the duty of a Frenchman to do homage to that generoſity ſo liberally extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of the French iſlands, whom burnings and the threats of death had thrown deſtitute upon the ſhores of America. Though I have taken great pains to procure a particular account of the amount of theſe ſuccours given by almoſt all the American towns to theſe unfortunate people, I have only been able to obtain it in part, and have conſigned the account to the archives of the town where I have been able to

collect them, and ſhould have been glad to have been able to have preſented the ſtate with the grateful thanks of my countrymen. I do not doubt but the total of theſe benefactions is more than two hundred thouſand dollars; and I do not include in this ſum the relief afforded by individuals to individuals, offered with ſincerity, a feeling for misfortune, and, I may add, with fraternal affection. The wants of theſe French coloniſts, driven from their country, and deſpoiled by barbarity, were ſooner felt, ſooner ſuccoured in the towns of the United States, where theſe unfortunate victims arrived, than expreſſed by themſelves; and theſe ſuccours have hardly had any other term applied to them than neceſſaries; theſe ſufferers ſtill abide, and have continued to abide, in ſome of the towns during the laſt four years. I know examples of whole families being admitted for two years to the intimacy and comforts of American families. I have alſo known ſome to whom houſes have been let, of which the expences have been defrayed, and who would ſtill receive the ſame hoſpitality, if they themſelves had not refuſed to profit by theſe kindneſſes any longer. I know maſters of boarding houſes, who, learning that theſe French gueſts quitted their houſes, becauſe the ſmallneſs of the ſum of money which they were able to ſave in their

flight

flight was not ſufficient to defray their expences, have cordially ſolicited their further abode with them as friends, and have at length prevailed over their delicacy to accept the offered kindneſs. I know Frenchmen who having had a great diſtance to travel before they arrived at a convenient port, from whence they could depart for their own country, have been with their families lodged and nouriſhed gratuitouſly, becauſe they were Frenchmen and unfortunate. Similar examples abound, and certainly ſo many of theſe facts are greatly honourable both to the nation and to the individuals to whoſe beneficence they belong.

Every private individual in all the United States of America, has an entire liberty of conſcience; and almoſt all the religions known in Europe are thoſe of the ſectaries there. But there are ſome ſtates where the conſtitution requires of every citizen entering upon the legiſlative or executive function, to ſwear "that he believes in one God, in the future rewards and puniſhments of another life, in the holineſs of the Old and New Teſtament, and that he profeſſes the Proteſtant religion." In ſhort, with individuals, and even with ſome ſocieties, religion is one of the objects which occupies the leaſt of the attention of the American people; and it is affirmed that

in thoſe ſtates where Preſbyterianiſm has preſerved the moſt of appearance, of influence, and of rigidity, it is exerciſed in general only for the ſake of form.

There are in almoſt all the towns of America, at leaſt in the principal cities of the ſtates, ſocieties for agriculture, ſocieties for the encouragement of arts, and for the formation and maintenance of public libraries; theſe laſt excepted, few among them attain the end propoſed, and but few of them can ever be able to attain it in the preſent ſtate of America. The expences which theſe laſt ſocieties incur in ſmall pamphlets, are paid by voluntary ſubſcription, in which the inhabitants of the United States, in eaſy circumſtances, are more liberal when the public good is the object of them, than they are in beſtowing their time in reading them.

There are alſo a conſiderable number of charitable ſocieties, ſome of which are marine ſocieties, whoſe purpoſe is, in ſome towns, to provide a ſubſiſtence for the wives and children of captains, or maſters, who die at ſea; or for providing aſſiſtance to all veſſels wreeked upon their coaſts. There are alſo ſocieties for the aſſiſtance of emigrants; that is to ſay, for aſſiſting with advice and ſuccours thoſe ſtrangers who arrive from Europe, with an intention of eſtabliſhing themſelves

themſelves in America. Others ſubſcribe for the ſupport of hoſpitals and ſchools, and for the diſtribution of proper medicines; there are ſome for the purpoſe of ameliorating the ſituation of priſoners; ſome alſo for the civilization of the Indians; and, laſtly, others unite themſelves for the purpoſe of accelerating in America the epoch of the deſtruction of ſlavery. In all theſe different charitable ſocieties, compoſed of men of all claſſes, of all profeſſions, and of all religions, there is not one in which ſome of the people called Quakers are not to be found; they are the agents of a great many of them, and of ſome they are the promoters and almoſt the only members; ſuch as thoſe who have the liberty of the negroes for their object.

Without becoming on this account an extravagant enthuſiaſt of the Quakers, it is impoſſible not to remark, that in every place where any beneficent plan is formed for the good of humanity, there they are always ready viſitors. They are perhaps, as is ſaid of them, as much engaged in the occupation of amaſſing riches, as thoſe who do not belong to their ſociety; but granting it to be ſo, this does not prevent them from applying themſelves, upon every occaſion, to acts of kindneſs and beneficence. Their tenets, their principles, and their laws, rigorouſly preſcribe this

duty; and their conſtant inſpection over their ſocieties inures them to it. And though there may be hypocrites among them, which is unfair to preſume, this pretended hypocriſy, which would be a vice in thoſe whom it might ſway, ought yet to be reſpected, ſince the good which may reſult from it, may cauſe it to be turned to the public advantage, and would even become a credit to their ſociety. There muſt, without doubt, be found among the great number of members of their communion, ſome bad men, but they cannot be notoriouſly ſo without being excluded the ſociety. If there be among the American citizens ſome Quakers whom falſe or hazardous ſpeculations have drawn into proceedings which delicacy and equity condemn, their number is but ſmall; and the quantity of Quakers engaged in commerce is nearly equal to that of the men who compoſe their whole ſociety. Their private manners are regular and pure, and the luxury of thoſe who reſign themſelves the moſt to it, does not exceed the caſe and conveniences of life. The courts of juſtice are never engaged in deciding the differences which take place among them, and the number of law-ſuits between the Quakers and other citizens is but ſmall, in compariſon of their multitude, and the quantity of their property. Submiſſive to the laws

laws of the country where they live, no ſtate, whatever its conſtitution may be, has more quiet and more faithful ſubjects. Their wiſhes for the freedom of ſlaves, and their efforts to haſten the period of its accompliſhment, has created them violent and irreconcileable enemies in every part of the world. It may be, that the exalted zeal of ſome individuals may have drawn them beyond the bounds of a juſt convenience, and from a well digeſted prudence, and thoſe are certainly blameable. But have they ever been even accuſed of having excited the negroes to rebellion? It has been by pleading and petitioning for them, as unhappy beings and as men; it has been by riſing againſt ſlavery that they have ſhown themſelves their friends; and the Quakers are not the firſt men in whom a deſire to diſſipate errors and to procure redreſs for the injured has produced hatreds, and even perſecutions.

Perhaps it may not be delicate to diſcuſs the queſtion of negro ſlavery, at a period when ſo many crimes and ſo many unparalleled atrocities have been committed under the pretext of their emancipation; whence ſo many miſeries, either irremediable, or at leaſt difficult to repair, have reſulted to the ſtate, to proprietors, and to the negroes themſelves. This queſtion however is foreign to my ſubject. But the Quakers had no hand

hand in cauſing theſe calamities; and their adherence to the cauſe of ſuffering humanity, and their frequent petitions in favour of the negroes, do them honour, as well as their vigilance, as citizens, in executing the laws which are favourable to this claſs of men. How honourable to them are thoſe perſevering cares and aſſiduous attentions to the hoſpitals and priſons, in which they expoſe themſelves to the danger of catching the dreadful yellow fever when it appears! I am ſpeaking of them as citizens, without any regard to their opinions, to their rules and orders, or to the auſterity of their manners; in this reſpect, I believe that a nation which has really at heart the good of mankind, cannot have better or more uſeful ſubjects.

The inferior claſſes of workmen, down to thoſe who labour in the ports, do not appear to me to be ſo ruſtic in America as they generally do in the old world. The reaſon of this is, without doubt, that they are treated with more civility, and conſidered by thoſe who employ them as free men with whom they have contracted, rather than as workmen, whom they compel to labour. They are like the workmen of every claſs, both in town and country, much better paid than in Europe, by which they are enabled to live well. There is not a family, even in the moſt miſerable hut in the

the midſt of woods, who does not eat meat twice a day at leaſt, and drink tea and coffee; and there is not one who drinks pure water; the proverbial wiſh of *having a chicken in the pot*, is more than accompliſhed in America. The ſhopkeeper and the artizan live much better here than in Europe; and the table of a family, in eaſy circumſtances, living upon their income, is not better ſerved in England and France, than a great many of thoſe of tailors, hair-dreſſers, &c. of Philadelphia, of New York, or of all other large towns in America.

Though there be no diſtinctions acknowledged by the law in the United States, fortune, and the nature of profeſſions form different claſſes. The merchants, the lawyers, the land-owners, who do not cultivate their land themſelves (and the number, which is ſmall from the ſtate of Delaware to the north, is great in the ſtates of the ſouth), the phyſicians, and the clergy, form the firſt claſs. The inferior merchants, the farmers, and the artizans, may be included in the ſecond; and the third claſs is compoſed of workmen, who let themſelves by the day, by the month, &c.

In balls, concerts, and public amuſements, theſe claſſes do not mix; and yet, except the labourer in ports, and the common ſailor, every one calls himſelf, and is called by others, a *gentleman*;

man; a ſmall fortune is ſufficient for the aſſumption of this title, as it carries men from one claſs to another. They deceive themſelves very much who think that pure republican manners prevail in America.

The white Americans, by a pride which cannot be blamed, and which proceeds from the negroes being generally employed in the ſervice, is aſhamed of the ſituation of a domeſtic; ſo that there cannot be reckoned throughout the whole extent of the United States, twenty native Americans in the ſtate of domeſtic ſervants. The claſs of domeſtics in America is compoſed of poor prieſts, Germans, and of negroes and mulattoes; and as ſoon as the firſt have acquired a little money, they quit that ſtation, regarded with a ſort of contempt, and eſtabliſh themſelves upon land, which they clear and till, or in a ſmall trade. In ſhort, they become independent of a maſter. Hence it may eaſily be inferred, that good ſervants are not readily found in America.

The prejudice which cauſes the men in America to have ſo great a repugnance to the ſtate of domeſtic ſervitude, does not influence the women in the ſame degree; nothing is more common than to ſee young women of good families, in the ſituation of ſervants, during the firſt years of their youth. Even their parents engage them in this ſituation

ſituation without ſhocking any idea. I have been told by M. de FAUBONNE, a Frenchman, formerly a captain in the regiment of Auvergne (and whom the pride of independence induced to take up the buſineſs of a gardener for the ſupport of his family, though he was forty-ſix years of age), that he had had in his ſervice, as maid-ſervant, the niece of the Mayor of the city of New York, a young woman very honeſt, and well brought up. Similar examples are very common.

In a country which has belonged to England for a long time, of which the moſt numerous and neareſt connections are yet with England, and which carries on with England almoſt all its commerce, the manners of the people muſt neceſſarily reſemble, in a great degree, thoſe of England. To the American manners particularly, thoſe relative to living are the ſame as in the provinces of England. As to the dreſs, the Engliſh faſhions are as faithfully copied, as the ſending of merchandiſe from England, and the tradition of taylors and mantua-makers will admit of. The diſtribution of the apartments in their houſes is like that of England, the furniture is Engliſh, the town carriages are either Engliſh, or in the Engliſh taſte; and it is no ſmall merit among the faſhionable world to have a coach newly arrived from

from London, and of the neweſt faſhion. The cookery is Engliſh, and, as in England, after dinner, which is not very long, the ladies withdraw, and give place to drinking of wine in full bumpers, the moſt prominent pleaſure of the day, and which it is, conſequently, very natural to prolong as late as poſſible.

There are great dinners, numerous tea parties, invited a long time in advance, but no ſocieties. So that theſe tea aſſemblies are every where a fund of amuſement for the ladies. Balls and plays are much frequented. It is generally underſtood that theſe kinds of diſſipation belong only to the towns, and particularly to large cities. Luxury is very high there, eſpecially at New York and Philadelphia, and makes a dangerous progreſs every year; but eaſily to be conceived, ſince luxury is, in ſome degree, the repreſentation of riches, and that wealth there is the only diſtinction.

There are ſome perſons who ſurpaſs their neighbours, already too far advanced, in luxury; theſe injure the manners of the country, but while the people cenſure, they purſue theſe ſeductive paths; and frequent and ſumptuous dinners are held in as high conſideration in the new as in the old world; and this cuſtom has its advantages very often. It has been ſeen that this

conſideration

conſideration has raiſed to the place of temporary preſident of the ſenate of the United States, a man who was not eſteemed by any of thoſe who elected him, or by any other, either for his talents, his qualities, or for his character, but he entertained his friends with ſumptuous dinners. In the other towns, and eſpecially in the country, luxury is leſs prevalent, but it continually increaſes, and often out of proportion with wealth.

The women every where poſſeſs, in the higheſt degree, the domeſtic virtues, and all others; they have more ſweetneſs, more goodneſs, at leaſt as much courage, but more ſenſibility, than the men. Good wives, and good mothers, their huſbands and their children engage their whole attention; and their houſehold affairs occupy all their time and all their cares; deſtined by the manners of their country to this domeſtic life, their education in other reſpects is too much neglected. They are amiable by their qualities and their natural diſpoſition, but there are very few among them who are ſo from any acquired accompliſhments. What they eſteem to be virtue in wives is the virtue of the whole ſex; and if in the United States malice may throw out her ſuſpicion upon twenty, there are certainly not above ten of them who can be accuſed juſtly, and all the reſt treat theſe with great rigour. I have heard

heard ſome huſbands complain, that the urgency of their wives makes this irreproachable virtue coſt them dear. But where in the world is there a place where evil is not found by the ſide of good?

The young women here enjoy a liberty, which to French manners would appear diſorderly; they go out alone, walk with young men, and depart with them from the reſt of the company in large aſſemblies; in ſhort, they enjoy the ſame degree of liberty which married women do in France, and which married women here do not take. But they are far from abuſing it; they endeavour to pleaſe, and the unmarried women deſire to obtain huſbands, and they know that they ſhall not ſucceed if their conduct becomes ſuſpected. Sometimes they are abuſed by the men who deceive them, but then they add not to the misfortune of having engaged their hearts to a cruel man the regret of deſerving it, which might give them remorſe. When they have obtained a huſband, they love him, becauſe he is their huſband, and becauſe they have not an idea that they can do otherwiſe; they revere cuſtom by a kind of ſtate religion, which never varies.

I do not know whether there be many badly managed families in America; but none appear ſo, though indeed they do not bear the image of the

the moſt deſirable happineſs. In the inferior claſſes of ſociety, where the manners of the women are as exempt from reproach as in the more elevated claſſes, it is ſaid that thoſe of the young women are more eaſy. Yet according to all which I have been able to collect, it is the illuſion of a marriage, which they believe to be decided, which engages them to give further liberties than they otherwiſe would do without this falſe hope. The fault therefore lies entirely in the men who deceive the young women; without it can be juſt to accuſe thoſe of libertinage who have not the prudence to guard themſelves againſt it.

There formerly was a cuſtom in New England, and particularly in Connecticut, which various American travellers, in their accounts, attribute to vicious manners; but who, I confeſs, ought to accuſe me of dulneſs, becauſe it always appeared to me, on the contrary, to be the effect of the pureſt manners, and the moſt innocent intentions. A traveller arrived at the houſe of a friend, and the beds of the family were engaged. He was put to bed with the family—with the boys, if there were any, and with the girls, if there were no boys. It may be conceived, that it is eaſier for Europeans to compoſe pleaſant tales, and to draw merry inferences from this

cuſtom, than to examine it in its native ſimplicity, and the beneficence of its intention.

Hoſpitality among this new people was one of the virtues the moſt regarded as a duty, and the moſt religiouſly obſerved. Their houſes were few and ſmall. A traveller to whom an entrance into one of theſe had been denied at the end of the day, was not able to find another lodging near; their hoſpitable manners could not ſuffer him to be refuſed; and the idea of diſorder did not enter the head of the parents, or that of their daughters, and the gueſt was admitted into the hoſpitable roof; and it was not remarked that he arrived inconveniently. The part of the clothing which was not thrown off, was rather a homage paid to the difference of ſexes than a neceſſary means of ſecurity; and the next day the traveller departed, to find on the next evening another hoſpitable lodging. This cuſtom, known by the name of *bondelage*, ceaſed, in proportion as houſes became larger, the roads more frequented, and taverns eſtabliſhed; but the day when the idea of modeſty entered to make this reform, the manners had loſt their innocence.

I have heard it ſaid by men who had been admitted to this ſpecies of hoſpitality, and whoſe manners were certainly not very ſcrupulous, that

the

the ſlighteſt attempt which they had ever made to abuſe this reception had been received with violent repulſes, and had cauſed them ſometimes to be turned out of bed, and ſometimes even out of the houſe; and no one ever told me that he had ever ſucceeded in attempting to take advantage of this cuſtom; but their delicacy had not prevented them from deſiring it, and would not have hindered them from avowing it.

There probably may have been examples to the contrary; but they could only be reckoned as exceptions, and too few to have authoriſed writing travellers to have played ſo much upon this cuſtom, which, when it is conſidered at what period it took place, and with what intention it was eſtabliſhed, is a credit to the manners of the country, and to the times in which it was practiſed. Be this as it may, the cuſtom has ceaſed long ago, ſo that there is no more truth in the account of thoſe writers who repreſent it to exiſt at preſent, than there is of juſtneſs and goodneſs in their judgment when they attack the morality of it, or pervert the intention.

But the cuſtom which exiſts ſtill, and which may ſhock the manners of an European, is that of being admitted to ſleep upon mattreſſes and upon blankets in the ſame chambers where the huſband and wife ſleep in their bed, and the

children of the family, boys and girls, in theirs. This cuſtom is alſo to be attributed to the ſcarceneſs of houſes, and their ſmallneſs, which is generally reduced to one chamber, which renders this practice neceſſary in thoſe parts of the United States which are thinly inhabited. I have more than once found myſelf in ſuch a lodging, when I have been travelling alone, or with companions of my journey, and when I have met with travellers, to whom I was a ſtranger. The chambers are very ſmall; and men often ſleep near the bed of young and handſome girls, whoſe ſimplicity is not ſufficiently alarmed to make any change in their cuſtomary night dreſs. If the ſtranger ſo lodged has his ſleep retarded or broken by the ideas ſuggeſted by a ſituation to which he is ſo little accuſtomed, it is neither the fault nor intention of his good and kind hoſts.

As to the large towns, and particularly commercial ones, the means of libertiniſm there are perhaps more numerous than in Europe, and I hear ſay that a great many huſbands make uſe of theſe means. As in Europe, poverty and vanity of dreſs are the determining motive which lead the women into the paths of proſtitution;—ſo it is in the great towns of America: and among the married women, thoſe whom the long abſence and inattention of their huſbands leave without

without ſure means of ſubſiſtence, particularly the wives of ſeafaring-men, are, if not abſolutely the only ones, the moſt frequently accuſed of this illicit practice.

I ought to add farther, that the condition of the girls who are kept in the houſes ſet apart for proſtitution, is viewed by the lower orders of the American people with weaker prepoſſeſſions than in Europe, and is looked upon merely in the ſame manner as every other trade: there are many examples of this deſcription of women, who leave thoſe ſituations, place themſelves as ſervants, or are married, and make faithful domeſtics and honeſt wives. The municipal police connives at this kind of houſes; but if the neighbours complain of any exterior ſcandal, they are inſtantly ſhut, and the inhabitants carried to the houſe of correction.

The Americans marry young, eſpecially in the country: the occaſion which the young men, who generally eſtabliſh themſelves very early either in ſome new lands or in ſome trade, have for a wife to aſſiſt them in their labours, conduces to theſe early marriages as much as the purity of manners.

In the villages, marriages are leſs frequent and not ſo haſty, eſpecially ſince the introduction of luxury renders an acquired fortune more neceſ-

ſary; and the young men hardly feel the neceſſity of loving, with the project of marriage, till they have already ſatisfied, or are in the way of ſatisfying, the more imperious neceſſity of gaining money. But however good the marriages may be, the wife who dies is readily replaced by another. In the country ſhe is, as in Europe, a neceſſary friend to the management of domeſtic affairs—ſhe is the ſoul of the family. In town ſhe is ſo too. She is an indiſpenſable reſource for domeſtic affairs, while her huſband is engaged in his own affairs, as every one is in America; ſhe is an aſſiduous companion, and a ſociety ever ready to be found in a country where there are no other but that of the family, and where the children ſoon quit their paternal abode.

To the ſketch which I have juſt given of the manners of the people of the United States, I could add ſome features more, but which would augment but little the knowledge which I have tried to give of them collectively, or of them *enſemble*; beſides, I am preſſed to finiſh this article, which appears too long already.

An European coming into the new world, and bringing with him the need of the uſage of the politer attentions of that which he has quitted; he, above all, who brings with him the need of what we call in France the charms of ſociety,

ſociety, which we know ſo well how to appreciate, of which we know how to participate, and which affords us ſo many moments of happineſs, —ſuch a man will not find himſelf ſatisfied in America, and his recollections will be continually ſprinkling his life with melancholy. He cannot, if his heart has an occaſion for a friend, hope to find there the ſweetneſs of a conſtant and avowed friendſhip. The inhabitants of the United States have been hitherto too much engaged in their reſpective occupations for the enticements of poliſhed ſociety, to be able to withdraw their attention from them; they have not leiſure to conſecrate to friendſhip.

Such an European ought to have for a long time forgotten Europe, in order to live quite happy in America. But if he can readily loſe the remembrance of it, or take with him there the deareſt objects of his affection, he will lead in America a happy and tranquil life. He will there enjoy the bleſſing of liberty in the greateſt extent which it is poſſible to deſire in any poliſhed country. He will ſee himſelf with an active people, eaſy in their circumſtances, and happy. Every day will bring him to obſerve a new progreſs of this new country. He will ſee it every day take a ſtep towards that ſtrength and greatneſs to which it is called; towards that real in-

dependence which is for a nation the reſult of having the means of ſatisfying itſelf.

Beſides, every man of talents who ſhall go to America; every ſkilful workman; and every man who, without any particular talent, ſhall take with him ſufficient courage and reſolution to labour hard, is ſure to find there, in a ſhort time, the means of making himſelf independent, a man of property, and ſoon after to acquire an eaſy and honeſt competency.

Some of the reflections with which I have accompanied the account I have given in this laſt part of my journal, of the conſtitution, of the government, of the laws, of the commerce, and of the manners of the United States, may be accuſed of ſeverity. What anſwer ought I to make to this reproach, if it be laid upon me? It was my duty to ſay what I ſaw and what I thought. I have ſpared no pains to come at the truth, and to keep my judgment free from the influence of all prejudice, and from party ſpirit; I am inwardly conſcious of this. Doubtleſs nothing obliged me to write a journal; but nothing could make me conſent, while I was writing it, to diſguiſe, or even to weaken my opinions.

It is ſtill more probable that I ſhall be accuſed of having judged the actual politics of the governing

verning party in America with a French partiality. I will not attempt to exculpate myſelf from a ſtrong attachment to my country, and to all its intereſts; I believe I do not yield to any one in this ſentiment, ſo general among the French; it is in me, independent of all the governments which my nation can give herſelf, as it is of all the misfortunes of which I have been, and of which I may ſtill be the victim. But I ſhould have reproached myſelf for having yielded to be guided in my judgment by ſentiments for which I honour myſelf; I ſhould then have run the riſk of not ſeeing the truth; and it is the truth after which I have been ſearching, and for the ſake of which I wrote. I think, therefore, that I have preſerved myſelf from the influence of national prejudice, and I hope that the majority of my readers will think the ſame.

May America, ſtrengthened by all the advantages which nature has beſtowed upon her, and with thoſe which a happy concurrence of circumſtances has added to them, already rich in her own experience, enjoy with a long proſperity!

May the people of America employ, without remiſſion, all their vigilance and all their firmneſs to preſerve their liberty and independence, which they have ſo gloriouſly acquired! None of

of her citizens wiſhes this more ſincerely than I. In ſhort, may France and the United States draw cloſer the bonds of alliance and friendſhip, which it ſo much intereſts the two nations to ſtrengthen and to invigorate! May generoſity and good faith be the bonds for holding them together! In political, as in private life, theſe are the moſt uſeful and the moſt honourable.

I add here a brief view of the reſemblance and differences between the conſtitutions of the United States of North America, of that of the Union, as well as of thoſe of the different ſtates which compoſe it.

Theſe tables are the literal tranſlation of thoſe publiſhed laſt year by Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, at that time member of congreſs for South Carolina, at preſent miniſter of the United States.

Tariff

Tariff of the Duties which the various Articles of Merchandize imported into the United States pay, ſince the 1ſt of July 1797.

Merchandize Imported.	In American Bottoms.	Upon Foreign Bottoms.
Fire-arms and bayonets, not otherwiſe ſpecified	10 per cent of their value	16⅔
Philoſophical apparatus imported for the uſe of ſchools, &c.	free	free
Aniſeed	15 p. cent of value	
Articles produced or manufactured in the United States, liquors excepted	free	free
Anchors	10 p. cent of value	11
Starch	15 ditto	16⅔
Slate	15 ditto	16⅔
Steel	100 *cents* p. quintal	110
Beer, ale, and porter, in caſks or in bottles	8 *cents* per gallon	8⅓
— upon the value of the bottles	10 p. cent of value	11
Bricks and tiles	15 ditto	16⅔
Bonnets, hats, and all kinds of head-dreſſes	15 ditto	16⅔
Boots	75 *cents* per pair	82½
Buttons of all kinds	15 p. cent of value	16⅔
Buckles for ſhoes, &c.	15 ditto	16⅔
Bruſhes	10 ditto	11
Coin, or ſilver	free	free
Cambrick	10 p. cent of value	11
Stockings	15 ditto	16⅔
Wax, and ſpermaceti candles	6 *cents* per pound	6⅔
Wood unwrought	free	free
Wood wrought (except cabinet wares)	12½ p. cent of value	13¾
Braſs cannon, and articles made of copper	15 ditto	16⅔
Coaches, or parts of coaches	20 ditto	22
Cards for gaming	25 *cents* per pack	27½

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Cards for cotton and wool	50 *cents* per dozen	55
Cables and tarred cordage	180 *cents* p. quintal	198
Candles made of tallow	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Spikes	1 ditto	1 1/10
Capers	15 p. cent of value	16½
Canes and whips	10 ditto	11
Cinnamon, gooſeberries, comfits, &c.	15 ditto	16½
Chintz, callicoes, muſlins, and all merchandize of cotton and wool in colour	12 ditto	13¾
Cocoa-nut	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Chocolate	3 ditto	3 3/10
Coſmetics	15 p. cent of value	16½
Coals	5 *cents* per buſhel	5½
Colours	15 p. cent of value	16½
Copper wrought	15 ditto	16½
— in ſheets, pigs, and bars	free	free
Compoſition for the teeth and gums	15 p. cent of value	16½
Coffee	5 *cents* per pound	5½
Cotton	3 ditto	3 3/10
— manufactured without die or colour	10 p. cent of value	11
Cutlaſſes and hangers, either whole or in pieces	15 ditto	16½
Hemp	100 *cents* p. quintal	110
Leather tanned, and all manufactures of leather, or where the leather is the eſſential article	15 p. cent of value	16½
Citrons	15 ditto	16½
Nails	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Paſteboard and parchment	10 p. cent of value	11
Types for printing	10 ditto	11
Dates and figs	15 ditto	16½
Drugs (of the apothecary) except thoſe uſed in dyeing	15 ditto	16½
Drugs and wood (for dyeing)	free	free

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Lace and lawns - -	10 p. cent of value	11
Lace for edges, fringes, lacets, &c. uſed by coach-makers, ſaddlers, &c. - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Malt - - -	10 *cents* per buſhel	11
Cabinet ware - -	15 p. cent of value	16½
Eſſences, powder, and perfumery	15 ditto -	16½
Fans, whole or in parts -	15 ditto -	16½
Tin, wrought - -	15 ditto -	16½
— old - - -	free - -	free
Artificial flowers, feathers, and other ornaments for ladies -	15 p. cent of value	16½
Copper wire, &c. - -	free - -	free
Cheeſe - - -	7 *cents* per pound	7⅞
Fruits of all kinds - -	15 p. cent of value	16½
China ware - -	15 ditto -	16½
Furs unwrought - -	free - -	free
Iron wire - -	free - -	free
Packthread - -	400 *cents* p. quintal	440
Gauze - - -	10 p. cent of value	11
Ginger - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Girandoles, whole or in pieces -	20 ditto -	22
Gloves and mittens of all kinds -	15 ditto -	16½
Lace of gold or ſilver -	15 ditto -	16½
Glue - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Clothes ready made - -	10 ditto -	11
— liveries, furniture, and utenſils of profeſſion, belonging to perſons coming to reſide in the United States -	free - -	free
Oil - - -	15 p. cent of value	16½
Indigo - - -	25 *cents* per pound	27½
Jewellery, and artificial ſtones -	15 p. cent of value	16½
Play-things for children, not otherways ſpecified -	10 ditto -	11
Blank books - -	10 ditto -	11
Diſtilled liquors from corn.		
— of the firſt proof - -	28 *cents* per gallon	30⅞

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
— ſecond - -	29 *cents* per gallon	31 1/10
— third - -	31 ditto -	34 1/10
— fourth - -	34 ditto -	37 1/2
— fifth - -	40 ditto -	44
— ſixth - -	60 ditto -	55
From other matters.		
— firſt proof -	25 ditto -	27 1/2
— ſecond -	25 ditto -	27 1/2
— third - -	28 ditto -	30 1/2
— fourth - -	32 ditto -	35 1/2
— fifth - -	38 ditto -	41 1/2
— ſixth - -	46 ditto -	50 1/2
Liquors diſtilled in the United States, imported in the ſame veſſels in which they have been exported from the United States, viz.		
From molaſſes.		
— firſt proof -	13 ditto -	13
— ſecond -	14 ditto -	14
— third - -	15 ditto -	15
— fourth - -	17 ditto -	17
— fifth - -	21 ditto -	21
— ſixth - -	28 ditto -	28
From matters the produce of the United States.		
— firſt proof -	7 *cents* per gallon	7
— ſecond -	8 ditto -	8
— third - -	9 ditto -	9
— fourth -	11 ditto -	11
— fifth - -	13 ditto -	13
— ſixth - -	18 ditto -	18
Wool unwrought -	free - -	free
Woollen yarn -	225 *cents* p. quintal	247 1/2
Watches and clocks, in whole or in pieces -	15 p. cent of value	16 1/2

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Merchandiſe imported directly from China, or from the Eaſt Indies, in veſſels which do not belong to the United States, (except tea, porcelain, and all other articles ſubject to the higher duties) - -	-	12½ of value
— which ſhall be re-exported in the ſame ſhips in which they have been imported -	free -	free
— not ſpecifically ſpecified in this tariff - - -	10 p. cent of value	11
Looking-glaſſes - -	20 ditto -	22
Manufactures of tin, compoſition, and copper - -	15 ditto -	16½
— of iron and ſteel, not otherwiſe ſpecified - -	15 ditto -	16½
— of copper - -	15 ditto -	16½
— of lead - -	1 *cent* per pound -	1 1/10
— of cotton and wool, dyed or coloured - -	12½ p. cent of value	13¾
— ditto, without being dyed or coloured - -	10 ditto -	11
Marble, ſlate, ſtones, bricks, tiles, tables, mortars, and other utenſils of marble or ſlate, and in general all work in ſtone or pottery - -	15 ditto -	16½
Mace (a ſort of ſpicery) -	15 ditto -	16½
Merchandiſes of mode -	15 ditto -	16½
Molaſſes - - -	4 *cents* per gallon	4½
Muſkets and fire-arms, with bayonets, whole or in pieces -	15 p. cent in value	16½
— without bayonets, ditto -	15 ditto -	16½
Muſtard in powder - -	15 ditto -	16½
Muſlins dyed, coloured, &c. -	12½ ditto -	13¾
— without dye or colour -	10 ditto -	11
Nutmegs - -	15 ditto -	16½

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Goldſmiths' ware	15 p. cent of value	16½
Oranges	15 ditto	16½
Olives	15 ditto	16½
Porcelain	15 ditto	16
Dolls for children	15 ditto	16
Gun-powder	10 ditto	11
Powder for the hair	15 ditto	16½
Raw hides	free	free
Calaminare ſtone	free	free
Lead and bullets	1 *cent* per pound	1 1/10
Paper, painted for tapeſtry	15 p. cent of value	16½
— for writing and wrappery	10 ditto	11
— ſtrong	15 ditto	16½
Plaſter of Paris	free	free
Pepper	6 *cents* per pound	6⅗
Piſtols, whole or in parts	15 p. cent of value	16½
Paintings and engravings	10 ditto	11
Allſpice	4 *cents* per pound	4⅘
Prunes	15 p. cent of value	16½
Naval proviſions	free	free
Wafers	15 p. cent of value	16½
Raiſins	15 ditto	16½
Glauber's ſalt	200 *cents* p. quintal	220
Salt weighing more than 56 lbs. per buſhel	12 *cents* for 65 lbs	13⅕
— weighing 56 lbs. per buſhel or leſs	12 *cents* per buſhel	13
Saltpetre	free	free
Saddles, whole or in parts	10 p. cent of value	11
Sattin, and other ſilk ſtuffs	10 ditto	11
Shoes and pumps of ſilk, for women	25 *cents* per pair	27½
— for men or women	15 ditto	16½
Sabres and cutlaſſes, in part or whole	15 p. cent of value	16½
Soap	2 *cents* per pound	2⅕
Sulphur	free	free
Sugar; brown	2 *cents* per pound	2⅕

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Sugar, white clayed - -	3 *cents* per pound -	3 1/20
— powdered - -	3 ditto -	3 1/20
— all other refined, and in powder - - -	1½ ditto -	1½ 8/20
— *(Linnpeugas)* - -	6½ ditto -	7 12/20
— in loaves - -	9 ditto -	9 1/20
— refined - -	6½ ditto -	7
— candy - - -	9 ditto -	9 1/20
Carpets and matts - -	15 p. cent of value	16
Tobacco in powder - -	22 *cents* per pound	24
Sail-cloth - -	10 p. cent of value	11
Tea, China and Indian.		
— bohea - - -	12 *cents* per pound	17½
— ſouchong and other black teas	18 ditto -	27
— hyſon imperial - -	32 ditto -	50
— other green teas - -	20 ditto -	30
Tea coming from Europe.		
— bohea - - -	14 ditto -	17½
— ſouchong, and other black teas	21 ditto -	27
— hyſon imperial - -	40 ditto -	50
— other green teas - -	24 ditto -	30
Tea coming from any other place.		
— bohea - - -	17 ditto -	18 7/20
— ſouchong - -	27 ditto -	29 7/20
— hyſon imperial - -	50 ditto -	55
— other green teas - -	30 ditto -	33
Tobacco manufactured (otherways than in powder) -	10 *cents* per pound	11
Glaſs.		
— black bottles, containing a quart - - -	10 p. cent of value	11
— in panes - -	15 ditto -	16½
— all other manufactures of glaſs	20 ditto -	22
Velvet - - -	10 ditto -	11

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Wine in barrels, bottles, or other veſſels.		
— from London, Madeira of the firſt quality - -	5 *cents* per gallon -	6 1/5
— London, or brought from Madeira - -	49 ditto -	51 1/5
— other Madeira - -	40 ditto -	44
— Burgundy and Champagne -	40 ditto -	44
— Sherry - -	33 ditto -	33 1/5
— Saint Lucar - -	30 ditto -	33
— Liſbon and Oporto -	25 ditto -	27 1/2
— Teneriff, Royal and Malaga -	20 ditto -	22
The duties upon all other wines ought not to exceed 30 *cents* per gallon in American veſſels, and 33 *cents* in foreign veſſels; nor to be leſs than ten *cents* in American veſſels, and eleven in foreign veſſels - -	40 p. cent of value	44
Upon the value of the bottles -	10 ditto -	11
All ſorts of fruits preſerved in vinegar - - -	15 ditto -	16 1/2
All other merchandiſe not otherwiſe ſpecified - -	10 ditto -	11

FINIS.

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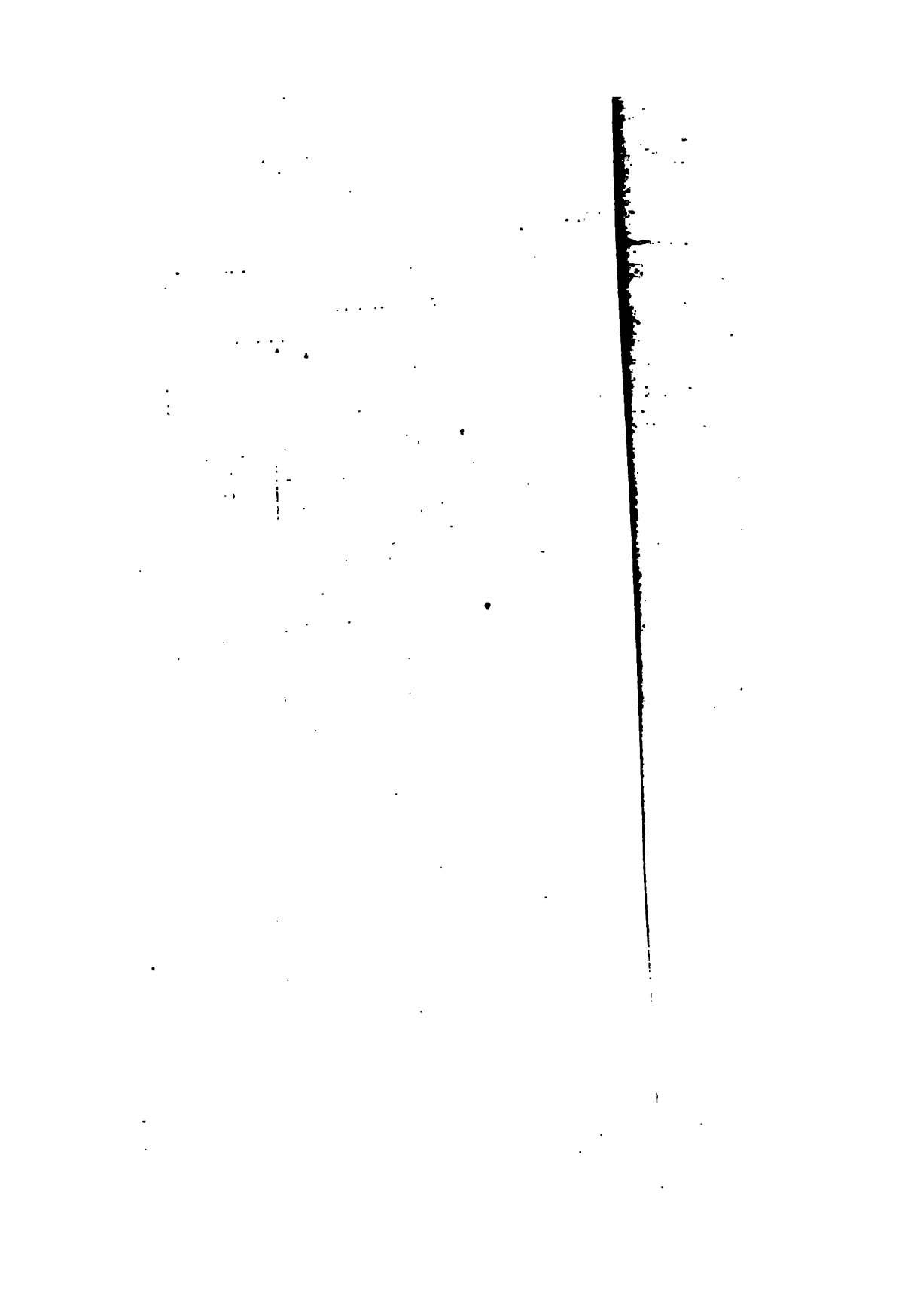

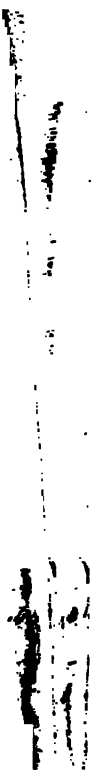

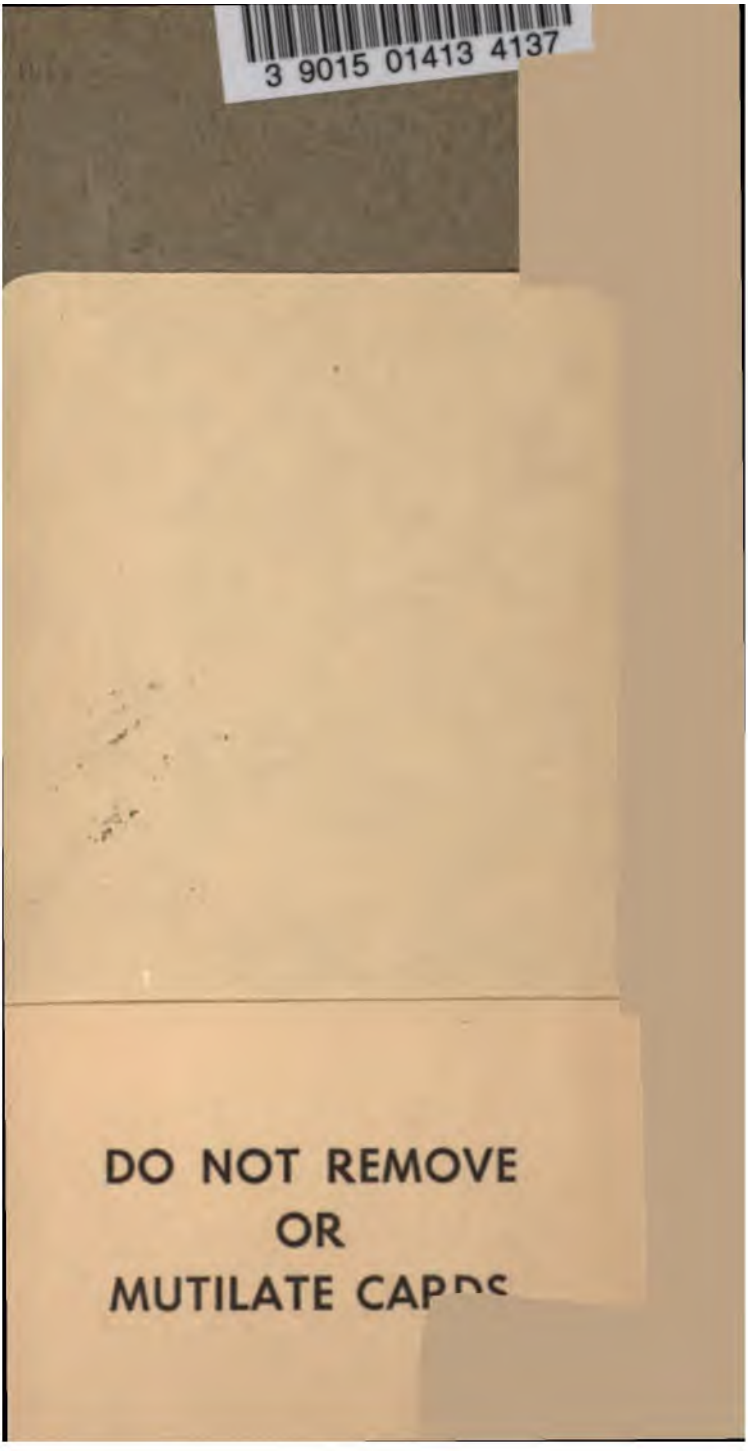
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